



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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4 August 1992

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South Africa

According to a SAPA report, the ANC claimed that nearly 4 million people stayed home from work on the first day of the two-day nationwide strike, while a business group placed the figure at 2 million. SAPA also cited Law and Order Minister Kriel as saying that the strike had been characterized by "rampant intimidation, illegal marches, countless barricades and stone-throwing incidents." ANC Secretary General Ramaphosa, however, claimed that the incidence of violence had been "markedly low."

The government banned various arms, including spears and other traditional weapons, from 20 declared unrest areas, SAPA noted. In response, the ANC wondered "whether the proclamation is not intended to impress the UN monitors currently in the country."

Benin

According to AFP, military reinforcements have been sent to Natitingou, site of a military "mutiny" allegedly led by Captain Pascal Tawes. At the same time, "all Army units were placed on alert" and security had been tightened around the Presidency. President Nicephore Soglo "was accompanied on his daily round of jogging by more armed soldiers than usual," AFP added. Captain Tawes, meanwhile, denied that there had been a mutiny, saying that he had merely returned to his home region. Although AFP described the situation in Natitingou as "calm," the government spokesman said that "until Tawes surrenders, we take it that the mutiny is still going on. He has not been transferred to Natitingou and he must therefore return to Cotonou."

Togo

The dialogue between the Presidency and the opposition parties resumed in Lome; it had been suspended in the wake of Tavio Amorin's death, according to an AFP report. Meanwhile, a planned demonstration by the Collective of Women's Associations in the capital was "delayed" after explosions and gunfire took place at the gathering point, AFP added.

Mozambique

President Joaquim Chissano and Mozambique National Resistance leader Afonso Dhlakama arrived in Rome in advance of their expected summit meeting, Maputo radio reported. Meanwhile, the radio noted that soldiers of the Maputo Garrison Command ended their two-day-old mutiny.

Central African Republic

Following the death of opposition leader Jean-Claude Conjugo over the weekend, opposition parties called a general strike and issued an ultimatum to the government to call a national conference, BBC reported.

Somalia

Fighters from the Sudanese National Islamic Front have taken part in recent battles in Somalia, according to a report in the London newspaper SAWT AL-KUWAYT AL-DUWALI, citing a Somali diplomat in Nairobi. The paper also notes that the Sudanese fought with the Islamic Union Organization against the Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia and that "some 700 people were killed and 2,500 wounded in the recent battles" in northern Somalia.

Rwanda's Habyarimana Opens 14th CEPGL Summit

*EA0108184592 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1043 GMT
1 Aug 92*

[Speech by Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana at the opening ceremony of the 14th summit of the Economic Community of the Countries of the Great Lakes, CEPGL, in Gisenyi—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] One of the reasons, perhaps the most important one, for the lack of real progress—progress in facts, in concrete life, in tangible progress for our businessmen and people—one of the reasons for the lack of concrete, effective, palpable progress is, without a doubt, the lack of trust that has at times characterized relations among our three countries.

This is why our priority will always be to reinforce actions aimed at building mutual trust on ever stronger foundations. As I have just pointed out, the multiplication of both official and unofficial contacts at all levels will certainly allow us to contribute effectively to surpassing problems, differences, and disagreements which are, after all, unavoidable phenomena [words indistinct] have always characterized the dynamics of all relations—whether between individuals or societies engaged in a joint venture.

This lack of trust is also undoubtedly the main reason for the delay in the ratification of so many signed agreements by our respective parliaments. [passage omitted]

As for a definitive solution to the tragic problem of the Rwandan refugees, we have already—in full compliance with the Dar es Salaam resolutions—taken the necessary measures and are waiting for the finalization of the UN and OAU plans of action for a lasting solution to the refugee problem, to satisfy all concerned parties completely.

Furthermore, Rwanda, seriously wanting to work for a return to normalcy, will closely consult with her CEPGL partners on all initiatives that it deems useful, so that the entire refugee problem in this part of the world is resolved in a permanent and satisfactory manner. In this respect it is a matter of adapting the legal texts in (our country) so that they can authorize and facilitate the implementation of the envisaged solutions to the problem of our respective refugees.

The promises embodied in our CEPGL, reinforced by the perspective of a pluralistic democracy and economic liberalization of a new kind, are designed to realize our aspirations for a world of peace and development— aspirations we would like to see realized in the whole of our continent.

Citizen president and very dear brother, Your Excellency Mr. President and very dear brother, ladies and gentlemen who are ministers, ladies and gentlemen who are members of the diplomatic and consular corps, executive secretary of the CEPGL, distinguished delegates and dear guests, I thank you for your attention.

As you must have noticed, the CEPGL is not without problems. One of them is a threat to its very survival. But the CEPGL also remains our greatest hope for real progress—durable progress—that will generate peace and democracy. I sincerely hope that this session will make it possible to find courageous and forward-looking solutions, which the exceptional seriousness of circumstances requires of us. The CEPGL experts' excellent preparations and the CEPGL Council of Ministers 17th ordinary session in Gisenyi from (2) to 10 March are sources of reasonable optimism for us; our three countries' populations expect nothing less.

Thank you. [applause]

Zambia, Zimbabwe To Receive Electricity Assistance

*MB0108142892 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR
in English 1 Aug 92 p 6*

[From the Africa News Service]

[Text] Five southern African countries have agreed to combine their resources to avert a critical power shortage in Zambia and Zimbabwe.

The generating capacity of the Zambezi River, which supplies Zambia and Zimbabwe with hydro-electric power, is expected to fizzle out within months.

Power companies from South Africa, Zaire, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia decided in Lusaka last week that power should be drawn from South Africa and Zaire to alleviate the situation.

Eskom [Electricity Supply Commission] chief executive Ian McRae said power should begin to flow across the Limpopo to southern Zimbabwe within six weeks.

A 50 MW [megawatt] powerline Eskom was building across the border at Beit Bridge was expected to be completed within six weeks, and supplies running through it by November.

Botswana had also agreed to facilitate the transmission of power to Zambia and Zimbabwe from South Africa.

A Botswana line would carry about 150 MW once completed.

Although Zaire was dependent on hydro-electric power, the drought had not affected the Zaire River's flow.

Zaire was expected to send about 150 MW to Zambia and Zimbabwe, McRae said.

Central African Republic

Opposition Figure Discusses 'Dead City Operation'

AB0308190092 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 3 Aug 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Opposition parties have given the government in the Central African Republic a four-day ultimatum to call a sovereign national conference following the death of opposition leader Jean-Claude Conjuogo. Conjuogo died on Saturday [1 August] at the hands of the police who were trying to disperse a demonstration against the ongoing national debate. The CAR Government called the debate to discuss the transition to multiparty politics but delegates have no real powers. And today, there has been a general strike in response to the weekend clashes. On the line to Bangui, Habba Saley asked (Sali Embokomanchi) of the opposition coalition—the United Democratic Forces—how well the strike call is being observed:

[Begin recording] [(Embokomanchi)] It is completely observed today because today in Bangui nobody worked, all offices and shops are closed. There [are] no buses and taxis. That is really dead city in Bangui today.

[Saley] Have you got any reaction from the authorities—from the government—to the strike? Have they responded in any way?

[(Embokomanchi)] No, there is no response from the government. We can see around streets in Bangui a group of soldiers there, and their arms. Now, we are afraid that the government is going to ask the soldiers—the Army—to attack the union [word indistinct] or the opposition parties. So, we are very prudent. It is dead city operation; it is planned for one day. Tomorrow, we plan to go again to our activities, but next Wednesday we plan to organize a big funeral for our friend Dr. Jean-Claude Conjuogo, who was killed by Central African Army.

[Saley] It is going to be a public funeral? Will there be demonstrations?

[(Embokomanchi)] There will be a very big [word indistinct], a very big demonstration. So we hope, like yesterday, to have around 30,000 people to [word indistinct] our friend next Wednesday.

[Saley] Tomorrow everyone goes back to work, and on Wednesday you are going to have the funeral. But after that, how are you going to put pressure on the government, given that it has not responded to your strike?

[(Embokomanchi)] You know, the national debate plans to stay for 20 days. So we have a long time, and we think during this time we are going to maintain the pressure by several actions. So now we are not going to give [up] our strategy. [end recording]

French Vehicles Stoned

AB0308153292 Paris AFP in English 1412 GMT
3 Aug 92

[Excerpt] Bangui, 3 Aug (AFP) - Demonstrators taking part in a one-day general strike in the Central African Republic (CAR) threw stones at five French military vehicles here Monday, sources said.

No one was reported injured in the stone-throwing, which occurred in the Miskine and Combatant districts of Bangui near the airport and the Gobongo quarter.

The military vehicles belonged to French assistance forces stationed in the CAR capital.

Shops, offices, banks and transport experienced difficulties as employees stayed off the job in the demonstration organized by the main opposition parties. [passage omitted]

Zaire

Prime Minister Accused of Violating Truce

AB0308133592 Paris AFP in French 1342 GMT
31 Jul 92

[Text] Kinshasa, 31 Jul (AFP)—On 30 July, the leaders of "Katanga" (Shaba)—members of the sovereign national conference—at a plenary session accused Prime Minister Nguz A Karl-I-Bond of organizing political rallies during his recent tour of Shaba, thus violating the spirit and the letter of the political truce decreed by the government for the duration of the deliberations of this conference.

In a statement read by their spokesman, Kisimba Ngoy Ndalembe, the signatories to the statement contended that Nguz A Karl-I-Bond made insulting, tribalistic, and regionalistic statements, accusing the "Katangese" of hatred and violence, thus showing "an unspeakable and anti-democratic intolerant spirit." The signatories also denounced "the shameful and irresponsible behavior backed by the enemies of Katanga, adding that insult and tribal hatred are not part of Katangese culture."

Mbenga Sandongo, national interim chairman of the Union of Independent Federalists and Republicans, has rejected the statement by the "Katanga leaders." According to him, the statement is unacceptable because there were no consultations among the Shaba conference participants and it was done by only one person, whom he did not name.

Ethiopia

Ministry Warns Against Inciting Religious Conflict

EA0308205792 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia in Amharic to Neighboring Countries 1600 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] The Interior Ministry warned some political organizations and individuals yesterday to refrain from inciting religious conflict by deviating from the peaceful democratic struggle under way in the country.

It was enshrined in the charter that our people should be the beneficiaries of all their rights and be able to exercise their religion as well as political rights without any pressure or coercion. The forces that strayed away from the people and the political struggle are currently pretending to be defenders of religion and have started to cause confusion and become an obstacle to the peaceful, equal, and united movement of the people, the ministry noted. It went on to say that if they did not refrain from these acts, the government would take appropriate actions against them. In its statement on this issue, the Interior Ministry noted that in order to carry out its responsibilities to ensure the peace and security of the people and enable every Ethiopian to follow the religious creed of his choice, as enshrined in the charter, the government would, as before, take the necessary action against those who contravene these tenets.

Eritrean Leader Receives Sudanese Delegation

EA0308205092 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 1500 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Excerpt] Mr. Isayas Afewerki, secretary general of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, today met and held talks at his office with a Sudanese delegation led by Dr. Ghazi Salah al-Din, minister of state and adviser in the Sudanese president's office. During their meeting, they discussed economic cooperation, bilateral relations, and the situation in our region. [passage omitted]

* ELF Executive Committee Chairman Interviewed

92AF1059A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 29 Jul 92 p 5

[Interview with ELF Chairman 'Umar al-Burj by unidentified correspondent in London; date not given: "EPLF Still Governs Country Alone, Our Efforts for National Agreement Have Failed Despite Mediation"]

[Text] One year after the last Ethiopian soldier left Eritrea, relations between the Eritrean groups that fought for independence and the People's Front remain tense, and the Unified Organization of the Executive Committee of the Eritrean Liberation Front remains outside the government.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT met the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Eritrean Liberation Front—Unified Organization [ELF-UO], 'Umar al-Burj, and

asked him about the situation in Eritrea and about the front's political position in this phase of the country's life. The following conversation took place:

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What is your assessment of the situation in Eritrea one year after the departure of the last Ethiopian soldier?

[Al-Burj] Leaving out details, the main features of the period of a year after liberation are as follows:

- The war in all its forms has stopped—the constant air bombing, the destruction from land and sea, the physical liquidations, the expulsions, the imprisonments, prisons, and torture, the intentional destruction of the economy, the neglect of agriculture, and the destruction of the livestock on which all the inhabitants of rural Eritrea depend.
- Eritrean citizens have begun to feel confident about their property, children, and lives. This in itself will be considered a major result by anyone who experienced the war and lived under the Ethiopian occupation.
- The citizens feel that they won a victory and expelled the last Ethiopian soldier from their land. This feeling overflows with rapture. Every Eritrean feels he now has a country, having offered tremendous sacrifices as a price for it.
- There is apprehension and anxiety for the future. The future is the proclamation of the establishment of the fully sovereign, independent Eritrean state recognized by the international family.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] The ELF-UO has remained outside of participation in governing Eritrea under the current circumstances. Where do you now stand on contributing to building the new Eritrea? Are there contacts going on between you and the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] to find some formula for participation?

[Al-Burj] Regarding the first part of the question, our national role is not tied to whether or not we participate in governing the country. Even if we are outside participation in the government, our role still exists, because we believe that the central issue today is the achievement of full independence. To make this slogan an reality, our organization is working intensively abroad to strengthen Eritrea's independence. Domestically, to guarantee that no breach opens through which forces hostile to our independence can penetrate, we are raising the slogan of national reconciliation, just as we once raised the slogan of no fighting between Eritreans. Also related to our participation is a second central issue—the need for refugees to return to their homeland to participate in rebuilding and reconstruction. In this regard, we are constantly in contact with international and specialized organizations, as well as brothers and friends, so that they can contribute seriously to the return of these

refugees to their country. We are also raising the voice of our people who are suffering from famine at home, so that aid will be given to them.

Regarding the second part of the question, about contacts between us and the EPLF, I would like to say frankly that the contacts are taking place only from one side, our side. Since liberation a year ago, we have kept addressing calls to the EPLF leadership. We have also sent them direct messages. Attempts at mediation have been made by certain brothers. All were aimed at finding a formula for mutual understanding and participation by all the nationalist groups. The EPLF has persistently rejected or ignored all these calls and attempts. Nevertheless, our efforts will continue.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] With regard to the unity of the other Eritrean groups existing outside the arena, what efforts are being made now? Have you any formula for coordination among yourselves?

[Al-Burj] Since the liberation of all Eritrean soil from Ethiopian occupation a year ago, these groups have held a series of meetings at which they agreed on the following principles:

- Realizing full independence for Eritrea is the central issue that governs all our moves and binds us together.
- National reconciliation among all the nationalist groups that struggled against the Ethiopian occupation, so that they can participate actively in the rebuilding and reconstruction phase.
- Not starting any fighting at this stage, to preserve independence.
- The rule of democracy and pluralism in free Eritrea.

These four general principles represent the common denominators of these groups. Each of them is striving to implement them within the domain in which it moves.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Eritrean guns struggled for years against the emperor's government. Don't you fear that these guns may turn against the breasts of the people of Eritrea because of current conflicts?

[Al-Burj] I hope it does not happen, but I fear that it may. People turn to guns only when they exhaust other means. Even in our experience with Ethiopia, we took up arms only after we exhausted all peaceful means.

The problem facing us today in Eritrea is that the EPLF leadership has announced that the role of the groups ended with the liberation of Eritrea. Fine, but as a group, it continues to rule Eritrea by itself and is working to shape life in Eritrea according to its vision and principles as a group. For example, it is legislating and passing laws on issues of power about which there should be agreement by everyone. It has adopted policies on the economy, foreign policy, education policy, and the land question. It has passed a nationality law and is drafting a

permanent constitution for free Eritrea—all this in accordance with its program and vision as a group.

By this behavior, the EPLF is ignoring the fact that all the other nationalist groups that struggled during the liberation period have their programs and their vision of the new Eritrea for which they struggled. How would it harm the EPLF to sit down and consult with the other groups on such crucial issues on which it has legislated and made decisions all by itself? If these issues touched the EPLF as a group, it would have complete freedom in what to do, but they are issues touching Eritrean society as whole now and in the future. All the more reason for them to concern the other nationalist groups who represent a not-to-be-overlooked sector of the Eritrean people!

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Nevertheless, all observers agree that peace and stability now prevail in Eritrea more than in any country of the Horn of Africa.

[Al-Burj] That is true, and I hope it remains so. Credit for it is not due to the policies of the EPLF or its iron grip, as some imagine. Do not forget that to achieve their national independence the Eritrean people embarked on a long war that gave them consciousness, maturity, and an appreciation of national responsibility, so they are more intent than other people on the survival of peace and stability. There is also the clear position of all the nationalist groups on peace and stability in order to safeguard the achievement of Eritrea's full national independence. All this is reflected in the current state of peace and stability in Eritrea.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Afwerki's government announced that the plebiscite would take place in two years. A year now has passed. How do you view the future in this regard?

[Al-Burj] The opinion of the Eritrean people has already been polled, and they decided their destiny through their long struggle that lasted 30 years, as they raised the slogan of independence and fought Ethiopian imperialism. Our view, indeed our position, was to proclaim independence the moment all Eritrean territory was liberated. Our people expected it; broad international and regional circles expected it, too, and were ready to recognize the independent State of Eritrea. But there remains before us a perplexing still-unanswered question: Why has Afwerki's government not done this? Why has it chosen the road of a plebiscite? Whatever reasons it has announced from time to time have not been convincing to us, because not once in the history of all national revolutions did it happen that a revolution won victory by force of arms, yet hesitated to proclaim independence.

As for us, despite our position that called for the need to proclaim independence immediately, we accepted the plebiscite for two reasons—one internal, the other external. The internal reason was our desire for a unified Eritrean position. We did not want to be at odds with the

EPLF's position calling for a plebiscite. The external reason was that some brothers and friends advised us to accept the plebiscite.

The plebiscite in two years that was agreed to between the Ethiopian Government and Afwerki's government was supposed to take place under international—that is, UN—supervision. But now the picture has changed, according to the announcement that has come from Afwerki's government that the plebiscite is going to take place without UN supervision. Also, the form in which the plebiscite will take place is going to be "yes" or "no." Everyone knows what "yes" is, but what does this "no" mean? So we feel there is ambiguity surrounding the subject. Therefore, in the statement that the Executive Committee issued on 24 May 1992 on the occasion of the first anniversary of liberation, we implored the provisional Eritrean Government to reveal the facts to the people and level with them about everything. In case there exist any intentions on the part of any party to circumvent our legitimate aspiration to achieve our full national independence, we implored the provisional Eritrean Government to invite all the Eritrean nationalist groups and proclaim Eritrea's independence immediately, so that we may bear the burdens of this stand together. This is still our position.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Can you shed light on future relations with Ethiopia, in particular, and the countries of the region in the wake of current international developments?

[Al-Burj] We make a distinction between our relations with the Ethiopian people and the rulers of Ethiopia. We consider the Ethiopian people a neighboring sister nation and that our destinies are linked—this despite the horrors we have suffered because of the expansionist, imperialist, and repressive policies of Ethiopia's rulers. Now that the Ethiopian people have rid themselves of Mengistu Haile Mariam, we hope that no group in the Ethiopian people is enticed by delusions or dreams of possibly recolonizing Eritrea under any pretext or rationalization. We hope that a free and fully sovereign Eritrea and an Ethiopia not ruled by a tyrant will be able to shape their relations in accordance with shared interests, neighborliness, and mutual respect. As for Somalia, which is suffering a cruel trial because of foreign interventions and domestic conflicts, what Somalia gave to Eritrea is inestimable. Somalia was the first supporter of the Eritrean cause when the first office of the Eritrean revolution abroad was opened in the capital, Mogadishu. Somalia gave its identity and nationality to all the Eritreans who carried Somali passports and bestowed diplomatic passports on all the Eritrean leaders. We owe a debt of gratitude to Somalia for its benefits, and we hope that peace and stability will prevail there. Then there is the Republic of Djibouti, which lies on our southern border and to which we are linked by a variety of relations. We wish it tranquillity and stability. As for our relations with Africa, during the liberation period they were clouded with ambiguity because of the specter of secession threatening the stability and peace of parts

of this continent and because of intensive Ethiopian propaganda accusing the Eritrean revolution of secessionism. Now that Eritrea has been liberated, we hope that the governments of the African continent will rid themselves of the secession complex regarding Eritrea and will respect the choice of our people and their legitimate right to independence.

As for our Arab-Islamic environment, which contributed in varying degrees to supporting the Eritrean revolution and backing the Eritrean people and their just cause, today we are in great need of its backing and support in the battle for independence and for rebuilding and reconstruction. We do not doubt that it will stand by us.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] It recently was reported that your organization is witnessing sharp divisions that have led some leaders to side with the EPLF and announce their participation now in the ruling regime. What is your assessment? What in your view are the reasons that have led to this?

[Al-Burj] We cannot call them divisions. The more precise term would be "individual choices." Even during the period of revolution, this phenomenon was common and well-known. There were people who would leave their organization and join another organization. There were people who left the revolution, seeking a solution for their family problems, and devoted themselves to private life. Also, the organizations used to try to penetrate each other and to encourage or entice individuals to announce their secession from their organization to join the other organization. That took place because of the competition between organizations at the time. We do not consider what happened recently in our organization to be any different in nature. We respect the choice of any person if he decides to join the EPLF or the provisional Eritrean Government. But when people resort to misleading or when people are paid to do so, that is reprehensible behavior. The organization is not feudal or private property such that one or more individuals can dissolve it. The Unified Organization continues to exist with its leadership, its base membership, and its masses and with the goals it promotes. It is playing its national role within the limits of its strength and resources, based on the national principles it proclaimed long ago. These are based on the unity of Eritrea as a land and a people and on biculturalism based on the Arabic and Tigrinya languages.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Your relations with Sudan have a special dimension, and your military and political presence during the preceding period passed through a number of phases. What is the nature of the situation now?

[Al-Burj] Our relation with Sudan indeed has a special dimension. There are historic, civilizational, and cultural relations rooted in the depths of history, in addition to intermarriage and proximity. These relations have affected the Sudanese people more than our relations

with their successive governments. As soon as our revolution began, the Sudanese people embraced it and gave it support. Indeed, a number of Sudanese fought in the ranks of the Eritrean revolution and watered the soil of Eritrea with their blood. Even when we encountered trouble with some of the successive Sudanese governments, the Sudanese people remained loyal and held to their position of support for us.

When liberation took place, the Khartoum government announced a position we cannot forget. It was the first country to recognize the State of Eritrea and exchange diplomatic representation with it before the proclamation of independence. Despite the economic difficulties facing Sudan, its government gave appreciable economic assistance to Eritrea. We hold that this political and economic assistance was not given to the EPLF or the Eritrean provisional government, but to the Eritrean people, of whom we are a part. We therefore feel gratitude.

As for our position about the presence of groups as an opposition, I have forbidden their activity on Sudanese territory, whether political or military. In this matter, they have derived their reasons from their assessment of the situation. Our ways of seeing things do not necessarily agree with each other. Everyone assesses the situation from his own point of view.

Kenya

'Family Operations' Blamed for FORD Problems

*EA0308083092 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 2 Aug 92*

[Text] Nairobi FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] branch officials today blamed the current problems in FORD to what they termed as mafia type of family operations by the party interim chairman, Oginga Odinga; his son, Raila Odinga; and the executive chairman, Professor Anyang' Nyong'o. Nairobi Chairman Andrew Ngumba, Organizing Secretary Wanguhu Ng'Ang'a, and Assistant Secretary Pius Njgunguo accused the three, all from the Luo community, of having totally usurped the powers of other five FORD national officials. They called for what they branded a major surgical operation to remove the Odinga clique from the family operations during the forthcoming party steering committee meeting set for Friday [7 August] next week. They further blamed the death of a FORD activist during yesterday's elections on a group that was under Raila Odinga. Odinga has increasingly come under criticism since he insisted that FORD elections proceed despite opposition from other top FORD officials.

The elections have been marked by boycotts in various parts of the country, although areas predominant with members of Odinga's ethnic group have seen a turnout for the elections.

In Nakuru today, a number of youths, believed to be members of FORD, took ballot papers meant for elections, bringing to a standstill hopes of an election in Nakuru town.

In Nairobi, the second day of voting in the FORD elections was on a low key as Oliver Litondo reports:

[Begin Litondo recording] Oginga Odinga FORD supporters today continued to elect grassroots leaders in some areas of Nairobi. The FORD interim chairman, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, decided to go solo despite the decision by the FORD interim steering committee to postpone the elections. The registration centers visited by a KTN film crew revealed that members of one tribe were registering. At (Ndururuwa) primary school football pitch in Kawangware, 37 members of the group had registered by noon. At Kangemi High School in Kangemi, where registration took place just outside the school gate, 40 people had registered as voters by 12:30 P.M. Confusion added to the milling crowd at the station as police arrived to question the legality of setting up the station. The area FORD interim chairman, Lukas Opiyo, told us later that the administration was unaware of the exercise at the school. He had to clarify a few things to the police officers. Elsewhere in the city all was quiet. Astleigh, Mathare, and Astlands showed no evidence of the opposition party's registration.

The exercise, which kicked off yesterday, left one man dead after being stabbed on the chest. The dead man, Gordon Oduor Mhando, an alleged supporter of Maina Rugendo, a parliamentary aspirant in Langata, was allegedly stabbed by a rival group supporting Raila Odinga, another aspiring candidate in the same area.

In Mombasa, where the FORD interim officials were voted out last week by a splinter group, Mohammed Bamahriz, the FORD interim assistant secretary general, is reported today as saying that Oginga Odinga's conduct this week has proved beyond reasonable doubt that he is a dictator. Oliver Litondo, KTN, Nairobi. [end recording]

Somalia

Sudanese Militia Said Fighting With Islamic Union

*PM0408100892 London SAWT AL-KUWAYT
AL-DUWALI in Arabic 1 Aug 92 p 6*

[Muhammad Ghabbashi report: "Sudanese Militia Led by al-Turabi Participate in Somali Massacres"]

[Excerpt] Nairobi—A Somali diplomat in Nairobi has told SAWT AL-KUWAYT that some 700 people were killed and 2,500 wounded in the recent battles in northern Somalia between the forces of the Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia and the Somali Islamic Union Organization.

The diplomat, who asked to remain anonymous, confirmed that Sudanese fighters belonging to the militia of the National Islamic Front, led by Dr. Hasan al-Turabi, participated in these battles on the Islamic Union's side. He added that although the fighting in the towns of Laas

Qoray, Groy, and Boosaaso on the Indian Ocean (some 700 km north of Mogadishu) has eased, the situation was still tense in these isolated areas, where there have been hundreds of casualties. Thousands have fled to the borders with Kenya and Ethiopia. [passage omitted]

Traditional Weapons Banned From Unrest Areas

MB0308182192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1704 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] Pretoria Aug 3 SAPA—Assegais, knobkerries, pangas and even tyres and garden forks have been declared prohibited items in selected unrest areas in terms of a government notice which came into effect on Monday [3 August].

The prohibitions also apply to the display of items that could be viewed as weapons at "traditional cultural gatherings" in the selected unrest areas.

Police said in Pretoria weapons such as assegais, knobkerries, spears, pangas, petrol bombs, crossbows, bows and arrows as well as firearms—including replicas—could not be carried or transported in 20 declared unrest areas.

A secondary list itemized objects such as garden forks, tyres, tyre tubes, picks, knives (excluding pocket knives), screw drivers and metal pipes. These may not, at any time or in any public place, be carried "in a manner indicating that they are being carried as weapons".

The 20 affected declared unrest areas are: Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Katlehong, Tokoza, Vosloorus, Tembisa, Alexandra, Wattville, Sharpeville, Bophelong, Boipatong, Evaton, Sebokeng, Kagiso, Munsieville, Swanesville, Plakkersdorp, Bekkersdal and Daveyton.

Police added exceptions which previously applied to "traditional cultural gatherings" were no longer applicable in the declared unrest areas. They stressed that objects, "which in certain circumstances could be viewed as a weapon," were banned from traditional gatherings. Anyone carrying them in these circumstances in the declared unrest areas was breaking the ban.

People in possession of legal firearms—and who had to carry their arms into the declared unrest areas for self-protection—could apply at any police station for permission for the ban to be reconsidered.

The bans do not apply to security force personnel carrying out their duties in the selected unrest areas. The bans also do not apply to people with written permission from the police commissioner or a regional commissioner as well as to people exempted from the bans by the commissioner or a regional commissioner.

ANC Reacts

MB0408072092 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2314 GMT 3 Aug 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by African National Congress: "Ban on the Carrying of Dangerous Weapons"]

[Text] The police proclamation banning the carrying of dangerous weapons in unrest areas of the PWV [Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging] region must be received with a lot of skepticism. Our past experiences with such proclamations has been that of seizure and covert return

of such weapons to the owners. We wonder whether this proclamation is not intended to impress the UN monitors currently in the country.

Several calls have been made particularly by the ANC for a total ban on the carrying and display of such weaponry in public. The Goldstone Commission made similar recommendations. Yet all the calls and recommendations were ignored by the government. This resulted in the deaths of thousands of our people in various localities and industrial areas.

The acid test of this proclamation lies in the ability and political will of the police irrespective of rank, to carry out to the letter, the proclamations without favour to certain political organisations.

We reiterate our demand for a total ban of the carrying and display of dangerous weapons in all areas irrespective of whether they have been declared unrest or otherwise.

Further Reportage on Nationwide Protest Action

Journalists Shot

MB0308141292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1353 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 3 SAPA—Two journalists covering the ANC [African National Congress] alliance's mass action campaign in the Vaal Triangle area were shot and wounded on Monday [3 August], a newswoman said. She did not know who was responsible for the shooting. SAP [South African Police] spokesman Col Dave Bruce said two men had been shot while outside the Sebokeng post office. One was wounded in the arm and the other in the cheek. He had no further details. An unofficial police source said a car being used either by one or both of the men had been robbed. A staffer at THE WEEKLY MAIL newspaper identified the wounded reporters as Philip van Niekerk of THE WEEKLY MAIL and Paul Taylor of THE WASHINGTON POST. Taylor apparently had been less severely injured than Van Niekerk. The staffer said Van Niekerk, after initial treatment in the Vaal area, had been airlifted to Johannesburg. WEEKLY MAIL co-editor Anton Harber was on Monday awaiting the injured Van Niekerk at the hospital in Johannesburg. Taylor was apparently still in the Vaal area Monday afternoon. "We have no idea who fired the shots," the staffer said.

TV Team Fired On

MB0308144292 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1432 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 3 SAPA—A SKY-TV crew filming mass action activities in Alexandra township north of Johannesburg were fired on on Monday [3 August], a correspondent said. Correspondent Paul Tilsley said the crew was in a patch of "no man's land" in 13th Street, Alexandra, when they were fired upon from the direction of the kwaMadala Hostel. The stretch

of no man's land in 13th Street forms a buffer between ANC [African National Congress] and IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] factions in that section of Alexandra. "We were fired on by an man armed with a long range rifle...We have some footage on video," Tilsley told SAPA. He added: "We also have some interesting footage of police running into a 13th Street house and taking away a man armed with a Colt .45... police emptied the Colt rounds into the street." There were no immediate reports of injuries relating to the shooting incident.

Journalists Union Condemns Attacks

MB0408104492 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 0500 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] The South African Union of Journalists [SAUJ] has condemned attacks against journalists in Sebokeng and Alexandra in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area, and at Mdantsane in Ciskei.

SAUJ President Peter Malherbe said the attacks were viewed as a direct attack on press freedom and that this could not be tolerated under any circumstances.

He called on all the organizations that recently signed a pledge to uphold their commitment and to respect and promote the safe conduct of journalists.

The SAUJ also called on all South Africans to take a strong stand against any threats or attacks on journalists, thereby threatening their access to information.

WEEKLY MAIL reporter Philip van Niekerk was shot in the jaw and the newly arrived WASHINGTON POST correspondent Paul Taylor was hit in the shoulder when unknown gunmen opened fire on them near Sebokeng yesterday. Both men underwent surgery and are reported to be in a stable condition. A SKY TV news crew in Alexandra and a DAILY DISPATCH photographer at Mdantsane also came under fire, but escaped without injury. Campaign for Open Media Chairman Raymond Louw said last night that South Africa would become stigmatized, along with Yugoslavia and certain South American countries, as one of the most dangerous territories in the world for journalists if attacks on the media continued. He said the attacks demonstrated the urgency with which press freedom should be raised by all political, trade union, civic, and religious organizations.

Ciskei's Gqozo Seeks Assistance

MB0308190092 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] Ciskei's leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, says he wants no part in the ANC's [African National Congress] mass action. He asked the South African Government for military assistance to protect economic growth points during tomorrow's planned mass action in Ciskei.

[Begin Gqozo recording] This is merely in terms of bilateral agreements and the nonaggression pact which

impacts on the manner in which the ANC is making this mass action tomorrow. We, from Ciskei's side, we are going to make sure that it doesn't come even one foot into Ciskei soil. We are going to stop it, we are going to disperse them, and we are going to make sure that they don't come in here and bring their violence into Ciskei, which is a very peaceful country, with people that are mature, and conservative, and traditional, and who value their standards and morals very high, for the ANC to come here and bedevil them. I want no part in either promoting, accommodating, or even playing along with their stupid games of mass action and toyi-toying [protest dance], while we are engaged in the serious development of the people of this country. [end recording]

Clash in Ciskei

MB0308201092 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1936 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] East London Aug 3 SAPA—Mdantsane's NU1 and NU2 sections resembled a war zone on Monday as Ciskeian security forces clashed with stone-throwers.

At least two people were reportedly shot in the mayhem that erupted after the Ciskei soldiers and police tear-gassed a big crowd marching to Sisa Dukashe Stadium.

Ciskeian soldiers fired rubber bullets in the direction of a DAILY DISPATCH photographer. He was not injured and the newspaper chose not to name him.

Scores suffering from teargas were treated, according to Red Cross workers on the scene. One person had a fit after inhaling the gas, rescue workers said.

A Ciskei building society office was set alight and destroyed and a car in the grounds was set alight.

Burning barricades of trucks, tyres, old cars and boulders were erected on most of the roads in Mdantsane's central business district.

Clouds of heavy smoke hung over the area near Khulani High School.

Police and military vehicles drove through the streets shooting teargas canisters and rubber bullets.

A police aircraft circled overhead.

Groups of teenagers used the thick oily smoke of the barricades as cover to stone police cars, which responded with rubber bullets and teargas.

The crowd cheered when some of its members fired shots at the security forces, causing them to retreat.

Buffels, casspirs and samils made sweeping movements across the field scattering the crowd.

Casspirs then smashed through the barricades opening a path for fire engines.

The violence began when Ciskei Defence Force personnel opened fire with teargas on a crowd attending a

commemorative service at Egerton Station to mark the anniversary of the deaths of five people shot by Ciskeian police during the bus boycotts of 1983.

A police officer told service organisers that according to instructions from Bisho, the thousands-strong crowd had to disperse within 20 minutes.

Less than five minutes later, police began teargassing the crowd, which included children, women, and ministers conducting the service.

As people ran they set fire to grass until Egerton Station was covered in a heavy pall of smoke.

The crowd regrouped and started marching to Sisa Dukashe Stadium, where local officials said they had been granted permission to hold a rally, though this was said to have been rescinded later.

As the crowd marched police fired teargas.

ANC [African National Congress] Border media liaison officer Mr. Mcebisi Bata said the marchers had behaved peacefully until provoked by the Ciskei police.

'Tense' Standoff on Border

MB0408132092 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1259 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] Amatola Sun Hotel, Ciskei, August 4 SAPA—A tense standoff was developing on the Ciskei/South African border on Tuesday as an ANC [African National Congress]-led march hovered on South African soil just outside the independent homeland.

Armed Ciskei security force personnel faced impatient protesters under a blazing sun as march organisers refused to accept a compromise offer from Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to allow a three-person delegation to hand a memorandum over to a representative of the Ciskei police commissioner, David Greybe reports.

The ANC wants to lead thousands of people in a mass action march on Ciskei parliament buildings.

The chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, Dr Antonie gildenhuys, accompanied by a UN observer, Jose Campino, have been liaising between the two sides for most of the day.

The latest situation is that the South African Government has offered to act as a "facilitator," Dr Gildenhuys, standing on the border, told reporters.

Reporters were present when a message was relayed over a Ciskei security force radio with a request that SA Communist Party [SACP] Secretary General Chris Hani urgently telephone SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Pretoria.

After a short discussion, march organisers agreed Mr Hani would accompany Dr Gildenhuys and Mr Campino to the nearby Amatola Sun Hotel, a gambling and resort complex, and phone Mr Botha.

Mr Hani insisted he first address the crowd, showing signs of impatience under the blazing sun, and explain that he was not going to speak to Mr Botha secretly.

When the crowd started moving forward at one stage, a Colonel William Henna of the Ciskei Police warned the marchers they were entering the independent territory.

Dr Gildenhuys told Col Henna the protesters did not intend crossing into Ciskei "yet".

More than 120 armed Ciskei riot police and soldiers, many lying behind light machineguns in adjoining fields, were facing the crowd.

A helicopter from the Ciskei Police and another from the SA Defence Force hovered overhead.

Marches To Go Ahead

MB0408094492 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0600 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] says it has been given the go-ahead for a march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria. The organization says the chief magistrate and the Pretoria City Council have agreed to allow the march. ANC President Nelson Mandela is expected to lead the demonstrators and to address supporters from the Union Building steps. The ANC also says Spoornet has agreed to transport protesters free of charge. Spoornet has not yet commented on that claim.

The march is one of several planned around the country for the second day of the ANC alliance's stayaway. The organization and its allies have vowed to go ahead with marches in Ciskei today despite threats from the homeland's military ruler to stop any mass action.

UN Observer Comments

MB0408094392 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0500 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Text] A UN observer says he has observed very little violence in the mass action so far. Hisham Omayad is one of 10 people appointed by the world body to monitor the general strike. John Matham reports:

[Matham] In Omayad's words: What I personally saw was mostly uneventful and seemed to be controlled. The UN observers on the Reef were flown over the townships around Johannesburg by helicopter. They also visited several on the ground. They were reportedly helpful in defusing a potentially dangerous situation in the Vaal Triangle. Wits-Vaalrand dispute resolution committee Chairman Andre Lamprecht says one of the observers intervened directly to facilitate a march to the Boipatong

police station. Lamprecht says this direct involvement avoided a situation which, in his words, had the potential for huge conflict.

Five Killed in Alexandra

*MB0408105992 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0800 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[Text] At least five people were killed overnight in Alexandra. Police report that there was sporadic shooting in the Johannesburg township throughout the night. Pule Phalatse reports:

[Phalatse] Police spokesman Colonel Dave Bruce says three men and two women were shot. He says two of them were set alight. Bruce says the incident took place in and around the Beirut squatter settlement, that is next to kwaMadala hostel which is Inkatha controlled. He says police raided the hostel earlier in the evening and confiscated an AK-47 rifle. They also raided the squatter settlement, which drew protests from the ANC [African National Congress]. They confiscated five weapons there. Col. Bruce says it is disappointing, because Alexandra has been quiet until Saturday. He believes mass action has created tension in the area. Soweto was very quiet overnight, with only one reported incident. Two people were arrested for intimidation. Police say they tried to rob a taxi because the driver was ignoring their stayaway. Attempts to reach the ANC for comment have not been successful.

Intimidation Said Widespread

*MB0408113492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1056 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[Text] Johannesburg August 4 SAPA—Intimidation was widespread on Tuesday [4 August] morning, the second day of the general strike called by the ANC [African National Congress] and its allies, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported.

A spokesman for Putco [Public Utility Transport Corporation] said intimidation was rife in Durban where 40 of 90 buses in service on Tuesday morning were stoned.

He said barricades had been erected in most black townships in the area.

Although services were generally maintained at Monday's level, at some places no buses were running because, even though drivers reported for work, it was too dangerous to venture on to the roads.

Police in Soweto arrested two men on charges of intimidation, attempted murder and attempted robbery after an incident on Monday night in which three passengers were thrown from a moving taxi.

Spokesman Colonel Tienie Halgryn said one of three men who boarded the taxi in Jabulani pointed a gun at the driver and demanded to know why he was not observing the strike.

Three passengers were thrown out and two of them, both women, sustained head and leg injuries.

Col Halgryn said the driver and co-driver of the taxi fought back and Merafe Hostel residents joined in when the taxi stopped nearby.

In the ensuing clash the taxi was overturned on to one of the suspected intimidators, breaking his leg.

A police patrol intervened and arrested the injured man and another suspect.

Western Cape police said at least 13 claims of intimidation on Monday were being investigated and they were maintaining a high profile on roads near Cradock in the Karoo where several incidents of stone throwing had been reported.

Members of the National Peace Secretariat and a United Nations observer flew over black towns in the Durban area on Tuesday morning and are to visit the troubled Esikhaweni area near Empangeni, Ndwedwe near Verulam, and Stanger later in the day.

ANC's Ramaphosa on Effectiveness

*MB0308161492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1542 GMT 3 Aug 92*

[Text] Johannesburg August 3 SAPA—Close to four million people remained home on the first day of the ANC [African National Congress]/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]/SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance's national strike, the ANC claimed on Monday [3 August].

At a joint news conference at the ANC's Johannesburg national headquarters, the tripartite alliance also said that, since Sunday, national mass action had claimed the lives of at least 21 people with scores injured in incidents in Natal, Carletonville, East Driefontein, Dobsonville in the Transvaal, Cradock in the Eastern Cape and Grabouw in the Western Cape Province.

In addition, two journalists covering mass action in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle on Monday were shot and wounded by unknown gunmen.

"South Africa has been plunged in a national crisis as a direct result of the government's intransigence in negotiations and its lack of political will to end the violence," Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC general secretary, told an international news conference.

Despite the number of deaths and injuries relating to the mass action so far, Mr. Ramaphosa said incidents of violence had been "markedly low". Many of the victims of violence had been people supporting the stayaway action, he added.

He called on the Pan Africanist Congress, Nactu [National Council of Trade Unions] and AZAPO [African People's Organization] "even at this late stage" to

join the mass strike and participate in the national campaign for democracy and peace.

According to ANC/COSATU/SACP statistics, the effectiveness of the stayaway this far had varied from 74 per cent in the Western Cape to 94 per cent on the Transvaal highveld and the Western Transvaal.

School boycotts had run from 75 per cent in the Western Cape to 100 per cent in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area, the ANC said. Close to four million people had supported the stay-away, reporters were told.

On the first day of the strike, 10 mass action related deaths had been determined by the alliance, besides 11 deaths on Sunday, while 36 rallies and marches throughout the country had taken place.

Questioned about the government's reaction to the mass action, Mr. Ramaphosa said the alliance had expected the government to react to their 14 demands by the end of the Cabinet "bosberaad" (bush conference) last week.

"But we now think that they are waiting until our action is over," Mr. Ramaphosa said.

COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo said if there was no positive response to the tripartite alliance's demands for an immediate interim government, free elections leading to a constituent assembly, and an end to the violence, the alliance would "continue its campaign of rolling mass action until the...demands are met by the government".

South African Communist Party General Secretary Chris Hani said besides the government's response, the alliance was also awaiting the reaction of the international community.

He added he also wanted mass action to become an important culture of the people to be used to resolve other issues such as, for instance, housing and the allocation of land.

ANC Monitoring Report

MB0408073692 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2118 GMT 3 Aug 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress, ANC, Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging, PWV, regional office on 3 August: "General Strike Monitoring Report"]

[Text] Several peace and democracy campaign activities took place on the first day of the unprecedented general strike the country has ever seen in its history. Our figures for the stay away for the region is 93 per cent successful. Activities were as follows:

Tembisa: march to the local hospital today

Atteridgeville: march to the local town council offices and police station

Soweto: thousands of demonstrators marched to the UBC [expansion unknown] offices. 3 people were shot dead in Dobsonville by police

Jabulani: rally at Elkah stadium

Khutsong: rally at the local stadium

Mohlakeng: rally at Ramosa stadium

Bekkersdal: rally at the local stadium

Sharpeville: rally at Miami Beach

Vosloorus: a bomb exploded at 10h00 this morning damaging 20 houses. No injuries or deaths were reported. Thousands marched through the streets of the township.

Katlehong: march to the local police station to hand over 14 demands of the ANC

Hillbrow: about 500 people attended a rally at Highpoint addressed by Jay Naidoo. The crowd proceeded to burn De Klerk's effigy

Yeoville: 50 picketed outside the Checkers chainstores.

Incidence of violence:

3 people were shot dead by police in Dobsonville this morning

2 journalists, amongst them Philip van Niekerk were shot at by unknown gunmen at Palm Springs in the Vaal. The journalists are currently being treated in the Parklane Clinic.

Arrests:

7 people were arrested in Alexandra for an alleged intimidation and public violence.

An unknown number of activists were detained in Mabopane last night.

Several people were arrested after staging a sit-in at the Jabulani police station this afternoon.

Minister Kriel Comments

MB0308164192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1629 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] Pretoria Aug 3 SAPA—Rampant intimidation, illegal marches, countless barricades and stone-throwing incidents—all related to mass action—had been reported on Monday [3 August], Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel said on Monday. Since Friday, Mr Kriel said, 28 civilians and two policemen had been killed in unrest-related incidents. Most of the violence accompanying mass action took place at night after marches and other actions, he added. He criticised the "unprovoked" and "unnecessary" attacks on two journalists in Sebokeng. "It is absolutely essential that, if our society is to be kept informed of developments, that journalists be

allowed to do their work without intimidation or violence." Mr Kriel further said the police were aware that members of self-defence units were "deeply involved with intimidation" in support of mass action and stay-aways. He gave no details.

NP Issues Statement

*MB0308182592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1804 GMT 3 Aug 92*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 3 SAPA—The deaths during the first few hours of the ANC [African National Congress]/SA Communist Party [SACP]/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance's mass action campaign contradicted ANC President Nelson Mandela's promise that mass action would be peaceful and without intimidation, the National Party [NP] said on Monday [3 August].

In a statement the NP said the public was "fed up" and required more from the African National Congress leadership than mere lip service to peaceful protest while ANC cadres wreaked havoc on the streets and innocent people were brutally murdered and shamelessly intimidated.

The NP called on Mr Mandela to take the disciplinary action—as he had promised—against ANC-aligned members who had disregarded his call.

The evidence of this disregard—including burning tyres that had been placed on railway lines and on access roads to black townships—was already there, the NP said.

Blatant intimidation of the public had already taken place, people had been murdered and there had been attacks on the police, the NP added.

The NP said steps had to be taken to discipline offenders. ANC members and even leaders like Harry Gwala who had issued "inflammatory statements" had to be brought to book.

"If Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders' promises are to have any meaning, Mr Gwala should be relieved of his post."

In addition, a large number of extra-parliamentary groupings like the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation as well as other political organisations did not support mass action and their choice not to participate had to be respected, the NP said.

Urges Return to Talks

*MB0308202592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1959 GMT 3 Aug 92*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 3 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela should call a halt to mass action and return to the negotiating table to demonstrate the organisations' willingness to be constructive, the National Party [NP] said on Monday.

In a statement the NP said: "Since Mr Mandela has now publicly acknowledged that the ANC is an integral part

of the problem of intimidation and violence, the time has come for him to accept the state president's invitation to talks about this problem.

"If he still refuses, the ball—regarding the hardships and deaths of innocent citizens—will be squarely in his court."

Instead of sitting back and observing the bloody and violent consequences of mass action from the heights of power and privilege, the ANC leadership should demonstrate their willingness to be constructive and call a halt to mass action in the interests of the country, the NP added.

The NP also called on the ANC leadership to immediately "publicly disband" the "dangerous" ANC self-defence units, which it said by SA Communist Party boss Chris Hani's own admission were "out of control and had no concept of democratic tolerance".

"In the light of this admission Mr Mandela should come out in public support of South Africa's hard pressed security forces and urge his followers to cooperate with the police in their efforts to maintain peace during mass action," the NP said.

Mr Mandela's accusation in the television programme Agenda that State President F W de Klerk did not take the deaths of black South Africans seriously, was "totally unacceptable", the NP said.

Mr Mandela was selective in his concerns, by making a "big issue" of the tragic events of Boipatong while expressing no concern regarding other events such as those at Crossroads where people not belonging to the ANC were the victims, the NP charged.

Business Group Comments

*MB0308162092 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1547 GMT 3 Aug 92*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 3 SAPA—The South African Chamber of Business [SACOB] on Monday [3 August] said the level of the workers' stayaway had been influenced by intimidation, transport difficulties and contingency plans made by employers.

In assessing the extent of the African National Congress alliance initiated general strike, SACOB said in a statement there were wide regional disparities in the level of absenteeism.

"These (levels) ranged from 15 per cent in the Western Cape to 20 to 30 per cent in the southern Natal and Zululand area, 55 per cent in Pietermaritzburg and 75 per cent in the Durban metropolitan area; 60 per cent in the Eastern Transvaal, 85 per cent in Eastern Cape/Border area and 90 per cent in the Johannesburg/PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region," Sacob said.

According to Sacob's preliminary estimate, the total stayaway was not likely to have exceeded two million workers in the private sector.

Sacob said it appeared that most employers were better prepared to deal with a stayaway than before.

In many instances, according to SACOB, special arrangements had been made—including the use of temporary staff, continued maintenance of essential services, extra work to compensate for lost time, taking leave and re-arranging shift work.

However, SACOB added the full impact of the stayaway on business was still to be evaluated.

In the statement SACOB expressed its deep concern at the loss of life which had already occurred and at the potential for violence in the days to come.

In its survey on the stayaway, SACOB said it appeared the level of intimidation in several areas was high and many workers were prevented from getting to work as a result of transport difficulties, especially in the PWV region and Natal.

Trade Institute on Effects

MB0408084492 Johannesburg SAPA in Afrikaans
2346 GMT 3 Aug 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by J.P. Landman, chairman for manpower of the Afrikaans Trade Institute: "National Strike: Press Statement"]

[Text] The national strike/stayaway action of the ANC [African National Congress]/SACP [South African Communist Party]/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance has been, particularly in urban areas, the most effective to date.

The effect of this mass action on the national economy has been largely minimized by proactive management action. Most businesses made arrangements in advance with employees to suit both sides. Where possible, leave was granted, shifts extended, hours worked-in in advance, and other practical arrangements agreed upon between employer and employee.

Large-scale intimidation occurred countrywide; but the greatest single factor preventing workers from getting to work was the nonavailability of transport. Some workers reported for duty late.

Following are some statistics and trends:

Specific absenteeism figures vary from region to region and even within specific towns. Nevertheless, trends can be determined and the following play an important role: 1. The availability of transport. 2. The degree to which trade unions are active in businesses. 3. The specific trade union affiliation. 4. Alternative arrangements between employer and employee. 5. Intimidation.

Transvaal: Vanderbijlpark/Verrening 80 - 100 percent absenteeism. Pretoria 80 - 100 percent absenteeism. East Rand 80 - 100 percent absenteeism. West Rand 50 - 80 percent absenteeism.

Western Transvaal: Lichtenburg 5 - 10 percent absenteeism. Delareyville 10 percent absenteeism. Wolmaransstad 10 percent absenteeism. Koster 50 percent absenteeism. Zeerust 10 percent absenteeism. Potchefstroom 50 - 70 percent absenteeism. Klerksdorp 50 - 70 percent absenteeism. Coligny 10 percent absenteeism.

Northern and Eastern Transvaal: Warmbaths 80 percent absenteeism. Potgietersrus 80 percent absenteeism. Pietersburg 80 percent absenteeism. Nylstroom 10 percent absenteeism. Ellisras 10 percent absenteeism. Tzaneen 30 - 50 percent absenteeism. Nelspruit 90 percent absenteeism. White River 90 percent absenteeism. Witbank 80 - 100 percent absenteeism.

Natal: Greater Durban Area 80 - 100 percent absenteeism. Pietermaritzburg 80 - 100 percent absenteeism.

Cape Province: Cape Town 80 - 100 percent absenteeism. Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage 80 - 100 percent absenteeism. East London 80 - 100 percent absenteeism. Uptington 40 - 90 percent absenteeism. Kimberley 50 - 90 percent absenteeism.

Orange Free State: Bloemfontein 90 percent absenteeism. Kroonstad 90 percent absenteeism. Bethlehem 90 percent absenteeism.

IFP Sees 'Intimidatory Politics'

MB0408073892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2214 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 3 SAPA—The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) charged on Monday the African National Congress' [ANC] mass action campaign was a bid by the organisation to gain political mileage it failed to score in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa].

"The mass action campaign (is) a last ditch attempt by the ANC to achieve the political impact it was unable to achieve at Codesa," Inkatha Transvaal Secretary Humphrey Ndlovu said in a statement.

"To justify their legitimacy, the ANC transferred the battle to the streets, expecting to break the deadlock at Codesa through pressure and coercion. Mass action means no more than prescriptive and intimidatory politics...

"We are appalled at the ANC's lack of political expediency. The deliberate confrontationist policy of mass action, calling for nationwide political strikes and employing violent intimidation as instrument of coercion, is more than enough to guarantee the drying up of investor confidence, destroying South Africa's prospects for economic growth."

Buthelezi Blames ANC

*MB0408075192 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 0500 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[Text] The president of the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP], Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has accused the ANC [African National Congress] alliance of being responsible for the murder of 11 people in the Empangeni area on the Natal North Coast since Sunday night. At least 32 people have been killed across the country in the violence that accompanies this week's mass action.

No incidents have been reported on the Witwatersrand this morning. Dr. Buthelezi said he told the United Nations Security Council that mass action should not be allowed in the current political climate. Meanwhile, the ANC has condemned the murders in the Empangeni area and has claimed that some of the victims were ANC members.

Buthelezi Interview

*MB0408124492 London BBC World Service in English
0430 GMT 4 Aug 92*

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] In South Africa, the ANC [African National Congress] is claiming a huge success for day one of its national strike called as part of its campaign to force the government to step up the pace of political reform. ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa was very pleased with the turn out.

[Begin Ramaphosa recording] We actually have more than 90 percent of the working people in our country participating in this stayaway, and in fact we are talking about 4 million working people having stayed away in response to the call that was made by the ANC and its alliance partners. It is an unprecedented form of mass action. We have never had such a general strike in the history of our country and we are very pleased with the results. [end recording]

However, there has not been an uniform black support for the ANC's campaign, as one of their main rivals, the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] has not been taking part. Emily Casreel asked the leader of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, what his reaction was to the stayaway.

[Begin recording] [Buthelezi] As far as I am concerned, I think it is the most irresponsible political action that has been taken for a very long time because we don't need the strike, because ever since February 1990, Mr. de Klerk had actually made it possible for us to talk, you know, together, different parties, to try and work on a new constitution for the country. Just merely because the ANC could not get its way at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] II, then they decided to walk out in huff and they are prepared to damage the economy of the country so that, you know, everyone should bow before them.

[Casreel] What would it take for you to believe that an ANC stayaway would be a success?

[Buthelezi] I mean, if people were free to stay or go. If there are any persons who exercise their right either to go to work or to stay at work, you see, you can then judge fairly that it is successful, you see.

[Casreel] What about the United Nations force? Do you welcome the coming to South Africa of 10 UN people to monitor this week's strike and stayaway?

[Buthelezi] Well, I have no problem and I have no objection to them, except that, of course ...[pauses] I mean to send 10 people in a country as big as South Africa is ridiculous in itself. But the only thing that I personally wouldn't endorse is a peacekeeping force because this country, you know, is a sovereign state, you see.

[Casreel] How do you see negotiations getting back on track?

[Buthelezi] Well, I believe that there is no point in going back to Codesa, myself. I believe that we need to have a multiparty conference of review to ensure that there are built-in mechanisms which will not allow any party, whether its ANC or IFP or any other party, to walk out in a huff whenever there is something they do not like.

[Casreel] As blacks in South Africa currently don't have the vote, what can ordinary blacks do to express their dissatisfaction with the government in the negotiation process?

[Buthelezi] Well, in the past, you know, when there was no platform, when the whites were not prepared to talk to us, then this kind of strike perhaps would be the only alternative. But it is just a fallacy to say that, you know, the only thing we have is this to do, after what Mr. de Klerk did on the 7th of February 1990 when he actually abolished apartheid and unbanned banned organizations. It is nonsensical to say that, you know, because we haven't got a vote, you know, we must destroy the economy of the country as the ANC is doing, because that is what they are doing.

[Casreel] So do you think that the National Party, white minority government, is doing enough to change South Africa? It is doing enough, quickly enough, on the road to reform?

[Buthelezi] I think that, you know, I have been an opponent of apartheid all my life and I would say that there is no comparison between Mr. de Klerk and any of his predecessors.

[Casreel] But I am asking you, sir, in your opinion, is Mr. de Klerk doing enough?

[Buthelezi] I don't see what more—if a man says that we must talk and arrive at a compromise, you know, about the constitution of the country—I don't see what more a man can do, because in a constitution making process, you have to give and take and compromise until it hurts. [end recording]

Article Views ANC's Return to Mass Action

MB3107125492 Braamfontein WORK IN PROGRESS
in English Jul/Aug 92 pp 7-9

[Article by Devan Pillay: "Fighting the Violence: Mass Action or Mass Struggle?"—italics as published]

[Text] The ANC's dramatic return to 'mass action' after Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 2 failed to reach agreement, was given added meaning after the massacre at the Vaal township of Boipatong. At least 48 people were savagely murdered by a marauding band of 'Zulu-speaking' men, believed to be from the infamous Inkatha-controlled KwaMadala hostel, with the alleged collusion of security forces. The gunning down of fleeing Boipatong residents by police a few days later, after President F.W. de Klerk was chased out of the area by residents, added even more fuel to the fire.

These events occurred against a backdrop of hardening government attitudes since its March referendum victory. Since the ANC's call for mass action, the government has rushed repressive laws (which, amongst other things, allow for phone tapping) through parliament; it called up thousands of white men to the SADF [South African Defense Force] days before 16 June; and, before the ANC programme was launched, the government warned that mass action would lead to violence. After the Boipatong massacre De Klerk hinted at a return to a state of emergency.

These moves fit well into the chilling strategic framework of the government, which was exposed in the July issue of the ANC journal MAYIBUYE. Relying on sources within the security establishment, and investigations by the ANC's own intelligence department, the ANC has revealed that, since February 1990, the government has been implementing a two-pronged strategy to maintain the essence of power, namely Operation Thunderstorm and Operation Springbok.

Operation Thunderstorm, which sources claim was devised by the Department of Military Intelligence, has been aimed at wreaking havoc in the country, and blaming the ANC for it (while portraying the government as reasonable peacemakers). Its plan has been to weaken the ANC physically, and create such a climate of uncertainty that black people will accept anything if it would bring an end to violence.

The ANC would therefore be forced to accept Operation Springbok—an entrenched coalition with the NP [National Party] and, if possible, other parties. Such a government would be unable to fundamentally alter the status quo.

But the Boipatong massacre was a serious miscalculation on the part of those who are implementing Operation Thunderstorm. They overplayed their hand. This time the trail of blood had a clear origin.

When ANC president Nelson Mandela visited Boipatong after the massacre, he took time to listen to the

anguished cries of residents. It was clear to them who the killers were, and who was behind the killers. It was a familiar story, heard in Sebokeng, Swanieville, Alexandra and numerous other places on the Reef and in Natal. The residents pleaded for guns to defend themselves, and for the ANC to stop negotiating with an insincere regime.

The ANC responded quickly, and a few days later all negotiations with the government were suspended. Codesa, said the ANC, was history. Negotiations could only resume, on a different basis, if the government took decisive action to "end its campaign of terror against the people and the democratic movement".

While it is highly unlikely that the ANC will reactivate the armed struggle, or pull out of negotiations permanently, as the residents demanded, the organisation has committed itself to 'a rolling tide' of mass action that is meant to assume the proportions of East European demonstrations prior to the downfall of the communist regimes there.

But has the ANC merely yielded, temporarily, to pressure from below, or has the legalised ANC finally come to terms with the adage that, in the words of former UDF [United Democratic Front]-Western Cape chairperson Dullah Omar, "no ruling class gives up power without a struggle—no ruling class voluntarily abdicates from power" (SOWETAN 22/5/92).

Long before Codesa 2, COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] had been gearing up for a confrontation with the government, particularly over unilateral economic restructuring, and VAT [value-added tax]. After the deadlock an Alliance Summit was held, and COSATU's programme of action, directed against murder, corruption and the removal of the present government, was revised and adopted.

It seems that COSATU, more than the ANC and SACP [South African Communist Party], realised the dangers lurking ahead. Of course, COSATU was not represented at Codesa, and perhaps that is what allowed it to see the wood for the trees.

The Codesa deadlock merely firmed the alliance's resolve to activate mass action, alongside negotiations, in the struggle for democracy.

This programme was discussed and adopted at the ANC's subsequent policy conference at the end of May. The understanding seemed to be that the turn to 'mass action' was not concentrated solely on the Codesa deadlock. It was conceived of as a continuous process alongside negotiations, regardless of whether or not the deadlock was broken. Mass struggle, which includes a general strike in August, is meant to continue until a constituent assembly is elected.

This understanding is a clear break from past practice, where negotiations took precedence over mass action. But is it a perspective that the ANC leadership will maintain?

When Nelson Mandela was released after F.W. de Klerk unleashed his reform programme in February 1990, he declared his faith in the president as a 'man of integrity'. However, in the face of overwhelming evidence of security force involvement in violence, Mandela began to retreat from his positive assessment of De Klerk's character. The Codesa deadlock and the Boipatong massacre made him retreat even further.

The ANC now wavers between accusing De Klerk and his government of direct responsibility for the violence, and a less direct but still culpable role. At best, says the ANC, De Klerk is prepared to turn a blind eye to, or not act with sufficient determination to halt, the murderous deeds of powerful elements within his security forces.

Since its dramatic ultimatum to the government a year ago, when it suspended all talks with the government until certain demands were met, the ANC adopted the position that the only way to stop the violence was to remove De Klerk from power, through the creation of an interim government.

But, although the organisation theorised that mass struggle and negotiations are two sides of the same coin, in practice ANC strategy over the past year has been to pursue negotiations as a virtually exclusive terrain of struggle. ANC leaders genuinely believed that an interim government and constituent assembly could be won through the power of the tongue alone.

The four main struggle weapons—international pressure, underground work, mass action and armed struggle—were all kept on hold, or reduced to levels of near ineffectiveness. Thus, the only leverage the ANC had was the vague threat to reactivate these pillars.

Beyond that, the ANC had only De Klerk's commitment to a democratic future; its assessment that, given the current balance of forces, politically and economically, De Klerk had no option but to complete his reform initiative; and the hope that international opinion would not allow De Klerk to derail the whole process and enact a convincing charade.

De Klerk, on the other hand, has kept his entire arsenal intact. He can call on his security forces to ensure "law and order" in the event of a breakdown in negotiations; he has the power to usher in repressive laws; he has ultimate control over the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation]; and the majority of newspapers, when the chips are down, can be relied upon to support an "anti-communist" crusade.

It is true that the ANC made tremendous progress at Codesa. It won its two key demands: an elected constituent assembly, and an interim government. Or did it? The government's chief negotiator, Tertius Delpont, in a Radio 702 talk show after the Boipatong massacre,

reaffirmed that the NP wants an interim government, operating under an interim constitution drawn up by an unelected body (Codesa), to rule for "at least five years".

The ANC managed to see through government ploys (seemingly at the last minute), and there is now a Codesa deadlock. But what was not brought to the fore throughout this whole process was that, even if there had been agreement at Codesa, of what value would it have been if the two key pillars propping up the old order, the security apparatus and the media, remained intact?

Codesa agreements allow for "multiparty control" over the security forces, and an independent communications authority to oversee the workings of the SABC.

While the latter could be an effective mechanism to ensure SABC neutrality, executive control over the security forces, especially the police and army, does not mean much. As Rockland Williams argues in the next article, even De Klerk and his security ministers do not seem to have full control over the security forces.

Effective control lies in the hands of white officers whose power is derived from the very nature and composition of these forces. Evidence suggests that De Klerk is unable to assert his full authority over his own security forces. How much less can a multi-party committee?

Yet the only way to neutralise decisively the security forces' capacity to destabilise the democratic process, is to bring it under effective neutral control as quickly as possible.

This demand, surely, should be at the *centre* of struggle.

It should include the amalgamation of existing armies, international monitoring and perhaps even control over these forces, and the immediate removal of all those officers known to be, or strongly suspected of being, behind the upsurge of violence over the past few years. These include SADF head Kat Liebenberg and head of Military Intelligence, General van der Westhuizen.

In its demands to government after it suspended negotiations, the ANC did not mention the control of security forces. Will an interim government be charged with this responsibility? If so, does this mean that the ANC is comfortable with what was agreed to at Codesa? Or is the organisation leaving this issue for future negotiations?

Either way, the ANC is not making this issue—the heart of the problem—the focus of mass struggle in the coming period. This may be a serious miscalculation. It assumes that the termination of covert operations, and the removal of known rogue officers and special forces—two of the demands presented to De Klerk—are sufficient to put an end to the regime's double agenda.

But what we know about the security forces may only be the tip of the iceberg. Measures that stop the activities of officers and units that we know are involved in wreaking havoc in the country, but whose scope does not include

the brief to deal with a sophisticated strategy like Operation Thunderstorm, will be of little use. An intervention of much greater depth is needed—urgently.

The longer Operation Thunderstorm is allowed to continue, the greater the damage to the country's social fabric. The demons that have been unleashed by this cold-blooded strategy might take years, even decades, to control and eliminate.

Nevertheless, the deadlock was a blessing in disguise. It has allowed the ANC and its alliance partners to sit back and say: Hang on, there is much more to this than the Codesa deadlock.

The question, however, still remains. Can the ANC, despite its turn to "mass action", sustain a vision which sees struggle as an *essential* element in the fight for democracy?

This is unlikely if the ANC does not put control over the security forces at the centre of its campaigns. It is even less likely if it backs down on key demands it put to De Klerk after it suspended negotiations.

In addition to action against covert operations, rogue security officers and special forces, these demands include the control over and phasing out of hostels as havens for murderers; and the immediate repeal of all repressive legislation, including laws passed during the last session of parliament. The ANC also demanded an international commission of inquiry into, and international monitoring of, all acts of violence.

Whether negotiators in the ANC make a distinction between mass "action" and mass "struggle" may not be that important. The actions of workers on the streets, and of ANC members in their branches, may be the decisive factor.

If the momentum that is rapidly being established—including strikes, marches, and other forms of mass pressure—continues, then the ANC leadership will have no choice but to see the process through. Maybe the question ought to be: can "the masses" ensure that, this time, their leaders do not retreat from the commitments they make?

If the ANC's alliance partners, particularly COSATU, refuse to take a back seat, then it is likely that mass struggle and international isolation will once again assume centre stage in the fight for peace and democracy.

ANC Member Says Action To Force Negotiation
MB0308142692 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
3 Aug 92 p 8

[Article by Joel Netshitenzhe, member of the African National Congress National Working Committee and editor of MAYIBUYE: "Unity Can Resolve the Crisis"]

[Text] The article by R.W. Johnson in The Star of July 27 is a well-constructed distortion of the purpose and content of

the ANC [African National Congress]-led Campaign for Peace and Democracy. He meticulously constructs straw dolls and then sets about demolishing them.

His arguments revolve around three assumptions:

—"Radicals" in the ANC, SACP [South African Communist Party] and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] see the campaign as a build-up to insurrection.

—These "planners" of the campaign have either roped in or marginalised the rest of the ANC leadership.

—As the campaign unfolds, these "radicals" are getting cold feet.

South African society has been subjected to enough of such equivocation in recent Government utterances, let alone in the P.W. Botha era.

For a "visiting professor" from Oxford who has never hidden his disdain for the anti-apartheid struggle, Johnson can be forgiven his views on the efforts to resolve the national crisis. But seen against the backdrop of his recent tirade against The Weekly Mail and New Nation in the same column, his consistency would leave the likes of Jimmy Kruger cold. And there are not a few of them in the apartheid establishment.

South Africans view the current crisis with little humour. The Boipatong tragedy and the subsequent ANC decision to break off negotiations are the bursting of a festering sore.

Most people wish to do something to contribute to the resolution of the crisis. This is because violence affects the lives of ordinary people as much as it impacts on investor confidence and worker productivity. A prolonged transition is as unacceptable to victims of apartheid as it is a red signal of uncertainty of investors. Add to this reports about continued killings in detention, a spiralling crime rate and corruption in Government circles—and you will understand why decent South Africans want speedy movement to the "new South Africa."

The innovative attempts by sectors of civil society—COSATU, SACCOLA [South African Consultative Committee on Labor Affairs] and the SACC [South African Council of Churches]—to adopt a Charter and Programme for Peace and Democracy is one flicker of the all-in desire to find workable solutions to the crisis.

It may not be possible yet for these forces to find one another on the actions needed to realise common principles. But this should not detract from the agreement on a constitution-making body that is unfettered save for broad constitutional principles, measures to address the violence and proposed socio-economic programmes.

The NP [National Party] continues to procrastinate and fudge the issues on violence. In constitutional negotiations it still seeks minority vetoes. It wants to impose

federalism from the boardrooms of the unelected body that Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] is. And it prefers a long transition in which it will essentially be in control.

This behaviour fuels the perception that the NP is still bent on underhand methods and "dirty tricks" to weaken its opponents.

If nothing is done to clear this logjam, the frustrations among victims of apartheid will boil over, whether the ANC undertakes mass action or not. If South Africans who want peace and democracy do not act, perpetrators of violence will perceive this as a licence to continue their campaign. It would be tragic for anyone to recoil from these principles simply because the NP does not approve.

The ANC and its allies have adopted methods they deem most effective in the situation: peaceful mass action and mobilisation of international solidarity with the democratic process.

Their campaign is not premised on some hidden agenda: "a sort of demonstrator's version of 'permanent revolution'" (as Johnson refers to rolling mass action), insurrection or the Leipzig option. The ANC believes united action by South Africans and the international community is capable of compelling the Government to negotiate in good faith.

There has indeed been debate among the ANC and its allies about the purpose and character of the campaign. We would not embark on a campaign on this magnitude without a clear conception about its destination. Such robust debate is critical in the formulation of balanced policy. The disservice Johnson does to readers is to raise individual views—distorted by his sources—to the level of policy. Yet when policy is so articulated by people he seeks to demonise as "radicals," he elects to interpret it as a sign of "cold feet."

The Week of Action starting today is one high watermark in the campaign. No one has attributed to it the status of be-all and end-all in the process. If the demands are not met, even more decisive actions will be undertaken.

What is not "unprecedented" in the campaign is that actions around community and other grievances will continue, whether or not there is Codesa or even an ANC government. If this is "a demonstrator's version of Trotsky's permanent revolution," then Trotsky's adherents run into billions, including picketers against abortion in the U.S., French farmers and British doctors.

The UN Security Council resolution that Johnson refers to as a push on the ANC to resume negotiations in fact calls for Government action to end the violence and recalls the UN declaration "in a climate free of violence." The UN special representative is meant to investigate measures to end the violence in order to help "in creating conditions for negotiations ..."

Perhaps, like the Government, Johnson has not yet been jolted by these developments. In his view, "much of the

conviction has ... gone from the mass action campaign." Certainly the organisers of the campaign can do better. But his calculation is dangerous because it is premised on the belief that those at the receiving end of apartheid terror will one day tire of struggling.

The ANC will indeed return to negotiations. But this will happen only if the Government takes practical steps to address the violence and accepts a democratic constitution-making process. When—and not if—this happens, there will be jubilation not only within the ANC or among its supporters; but also among all those who did not shun their responsibility when their country required of them simply to take a stand.

Prospect of Split in Conservative Party Viewed

MB0308183892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1817 GMT 3 Aug 92

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town August 3 SAPA—A new non-racial but Afrikaner-based political party is expected to be established soon under the leadership of MP for Potchefstroom and former Conservative Party [CP] National Secretary Mr Andries Beyers.

The formation of a new right-wing party is expected to follow a Conservative Party Executive meeting on Thursday at which an unrepentant Mr Beyers will probably be expelled from the party for a speech made at the CP Youth Congress at Naboomspruit last Saturday.

His speech was not only endorsed by a majority at the congress but has been given swift endorsement by youth and constituency branches of the party.

The speech was a reassertion of viewpoints already rejected by the party leadership at its June congress and calls for participation in negotiations with all parties for a much-reduced Afrikaner state in a confederal South Africa.

On Monday afternoon the CP's entire Port Elizabeth youth region, including the university, technikon, teachers training college and technical college branches, issued a statement of full support for Mr Beyers and his views.

The Parktown constituency council issued a statement saying it had, "after a short discussion this morning decided to support the new vision as put forward by Mr Andries Beyers over the weekend and will assist him and the thousands of followers to fulfill this ideal."

It congratulated him and the Youth Congress for their decisive boldness.

Mr Beyers is backed openly by four fellow MPs who have jointly signed a policy document on which the Saturday speech was based. They are the party's [Orange] Free State leader, Mr Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron), Mr Chris de Jager (Bethal), Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermelo) and Mr Rosier de Ville (Standerton).

The policy document served as an alternative to party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's own seven-principle plan at the June congress, which proposed currently held CP constituencies as the core of a white Afrikaner state and the basis for negotiation, but not at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

Both plans were referred to a committee for evaluation and recommendation.

Other MPs are also understood to back the Beyers viewpoint but are not eager to drive differences to the point of a split in the party. Among these are believed to be four party veterans, Mr Frank le Roux (Brakpan), Mr Tom Langley (Soutpansberg), Dr Willie Snyman (Piet-sburg) and Mr H D K van der Merwe (nominated), and brothers Dr Pieter Mulder (Schweizer-Reneke) and Dr Corne Mulder (Randfontein).

It is possible however that the reaction in favour of Mr Beyers in party ranks may yet persuade them to join a revolt against the Treurnicht-Hartzenberg leadership.

There now seems to be little chance that Mr Beyers, often tipped as a future leader of the CP, can be placated and muzzled and close associates say he will rather leave the party than accept any moderation of the position adopted by the five.

His sympathisers, numbering about ten more MPs and a large number of the youth wing executive, are for the present arguing that it would be better to reform the party from within.

This factor left both Mr Koos van der Merwe (Overvaal) and Mr Koos Botha (Wonderboom) out on a limb earlier this year when both challenged the party along similar lines and were summarily ejected.

Mr van der Merwe at the time warned that the party was still the home of many sympathisers and that they would still emerge.

Alluding at the time to Mr Beyers, he said the likely leader was still inside the party's caucus. He predicted it was merely a matter of time before there was a major break with Dr Hartzenberg's rightwingers.

Dr Treurnicht, he said, was ineffectual as a leader.

Over the past fortnight meetings to try and bridge differences between the Beyers group and the party faithful failed.

Some of the party's MPs under the deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (Lichtenburg) and including the Pot-gietersrus firebrand Mr Schalk Pienaar, were approached by Mr Langley and Mr Dries Joubert, MP for Lydenburg in an attempt to have them discuss differences with the Beyers five.

After a separate meeting with the latter only two men of the Hartzenberg group agreed to talk to them—Dr Pieter Mulder and nominated MP, Mr HDK van der Merwe. Nothing was resolved.

Last week Mr Beyers also refused to attend an executive meeting where his position was to be discussed. He chose to address the Youth Congress instead.

On Monday Dr Mulder said he personally could not see sufficient differences in principle between the party and Mr Beyers' views to justify a breakaway. However if there was a determination to break away, nothing could stop it.

Mr SC Jacobs (Losberg) said: "I've been a supporter of a smaller Afrikaner homeland for Afrikaners for years, but I'm not prepared to endanger party unity."

After the June congress the Beyers group proposals were put to a committee for investigation. However Mr Beyers and his partners have indicated they are unhappy with the way in which the committee was dealing with it, prompting Saturday's forceful public airing of their position.

ANC, Government Disagree on Freeing Convicted Spy
MB0208140492 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 2 Aug 92 p 12

[By Jon Qwelane: "The One the Govt Won't Let Go"]

[Text] A new dispute between the ANC [African National Congress] and the government could be brewing over the former commanding officer of the Simonstown naval base, Dieter Gerhardt.

The ANC and the Government have wrangled for two years on a number of prisoners still remaining incarcerated—the former insisting they are political prisoners and the latter stating they are criminals rather than political activists.

A top source in the ANC has confirmed that Gerhardt is among the prisoners whose unconditional release the organisation is negotiating; the release of remaining political prisoners is also one of the 14 demands the ANC has asked the Government to fulfill before talks can resume at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

Up to now the Government's position has been that Gerhardt will serve his full life sentence, imposed after his conviction for spying for the former Soviet Union.

Gerhardt was arrested and tried with his wife, Swiss national Ruth, who was released from prison on humanitarian grounds after serving a portion of her 15-year sentence for being her husband's courier.

Mrs Gerhardt has said she has experienced difficulties with Pretoria each time she has applied for a visa and permission to visit her husband, who is serving his time in Pretoria Central Prison.

The ANC source says the organisation views Gerhardt as a "political prisoner" as defined by the ANC. That definition, which led to the release of many convicted prisoners from maximum security jails across the country and on Robben Island, has become the standard also accepted by the Government.

But the Government has all along insisted that Gerhardt is not a political prisoner, but a spy who, with his wife, sold information to the Soviets for gain.

Gerhardt and his wife have always maintained they passed on information to the Soviets as an act of rebellion against the system of apartheid. The ANC appears to be inclined to this view—among the first prisoners he saw after his release from 27 years' imprisonment, ANC leader Nelson Mandela visited Gerhardt.

The source says a list of prisoners considered "political" by the Government and it is a "very sensitive matter".

The source has confirmed Gerhardt, a South African citizen, is on the list.

4 Aug Press Review on Current Events, Issues

MB0408110792

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

SACP, ANC Confront Renegade Self-Defense Units Issue—"Chris Hani, who says a journalist 'put words' in his mouth to describe the failings of self-defence units, takes up the topic in his own words in the SA Communist Party [SACP] paper, *Umsebenzi*," notes a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English on 4 August. "Arguing that defence units have saved numerous lives, he nevertheless observes that there has sometimes been a lack of community control, leaving units open to 'hijacking' by criminals. He notes an alarming revival of kangaroo courts, warning that the liberation movement takes 'a very, very strong stand' against necklacing. He cautions that weapons obtained for defence must not be used to settle political differences in the ranks." "It is encouraging that the SACP and ANC [African National Congress] have confronted the issue. But we need more than threats of action. We need these organisations (and all other political parties) to

purge themselves of violent renegades. As Mr Hani says, political parties—like defence units—cannot be seen to be sheltering criminals'.

BUSINESS DAY

Business, Labor Deal-Making—Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English on 4 August in a page 8 editorial remarks that "even its protagonists in Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and the ANC were becoming increasingly unenthusiastic" about the mass action. "All those who wished to make a political point by staying away have been able to do so. And many who opposed the stayaway will not have to make personal financial sacrifices. There can be little doubt, too, that the negotiation of special arrangements has reduced levels of tension and hence the potential for violence. It may just be that the extraordinary circumstances leading up to this week's stayaway have begun to teach South Africans how to ensure that the imperatives of political protest, political tolerance and economic growth need not be incompatible." "This helps explain the surge in separate deal-making round the country between business and organised labour."

CP Must Accept Negotiations Reality—The "turmoil" in the Conservative Party, CP, may seem "a mildly entertaining sideshow amid much larger and more meaningful political theatre," states a second editorial on the same page. "The troubles of the right-wingers, however, are not caused by fringe issues; the fight is about whether or not to join those on the big stage." "White homeland is code for an evasion of black rule. The more the white right accepts the reality of negotiations, the more it drops the pretence of a future like the past. The right cannot avoid negotiations; the more it gets involved, the more peaceful that future will be."

SOWETAN

Mass Action To Give ANC 'Powerful Hand'—Johannesburg *SOWETAN* in English on 4 August in a page 6 editorial says the "initial success" of the stayaway is "good for the resumption of negotiations. While a number of people have died, the dire predictions of violence and intimidation have not materialised." "What is especially useful about the 'rolling' mass action campaign is that it gives the ANC a powerful hand in engaging the Government. They should seize the moment. After today—and we are hoping the number of casualties will remain minimal—Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] must be put back on track."

Angola

List of Candidates for New Parliament Posted

MB0408054392 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] The list of candidates for the future parliament were put on display today at the People's Supreme Tribunal [TPS]. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] submitted 130 candidates and 15 alternate candidates for national constituencies. The two parties filled all provincial constituencies.

The Democratic Angola Alliance submitted 31 candidates for national constituencies, and the Democratic Renewal Party [PRD] submitted 34 candidates. The National Democratic Party of Angola, which has endorsed Daniel Chipenda's candidacy, has submitted 12 candidates for the future parliament.

All lists include public figures. The MPLA list includes well-known people. In addition to Central Committee and government members, the MPLA list includes Cleofas Silinge, director of the Benguela Railroad; Julio de Almeida, otherwise known as Commander Juju of the second struggle of national liberation [1975-1976]; and Mrs. Teresa Cohen. Musicians Andre Mingas, Elias (Diaquimoevo), and Jacinto Chipa; basketball player Palmira Barbosa; Armando Machado, president of [name indistinct]; Museum of Anthropology Director Ana Maria de Oliveira; Nando Emanuel Norman; and Congo Angola are also on the MPLA list. Journalists Adelino Marques de Almeida, Alexandre (Gurgel), and Ismael Mateus, as well as authors Costa Andrade Nvumbuma, Joao Melo, and Joao Meio-Mundo form part of the same list.

We have not been able to gather more details about UNITA's list, which includes Jaka Jamba, Vitorino Ossi, Abel Chivukuvuku, and Jeremias Chitunda, who heads the list.

The Democratic Alliance list is headed by Dr. Vieira Lopes and includes jurist Rosa Sobrinho.

The PRD list is headed by author Rui Augusto. The list has many other doctors and civil servants, as well members of other professions. Maria Luisa Abrantes—otherwise known as Milucha, who is the director of the Foreign Investment Office—and Amadeu Neves are part of the PRD list.

The Angolan National Democratic Convention list includes Adolfo (Inkikalando), who once served as secretary for cooperation, and (Insuca Josefe), whom we think is a former 1 Agosto football club player.

The Democratic Party for the Progress of the Angolan National Alliance list includes public health Dr. Vita Pemba, and Mr. (Ngongala Garcia), whom we believe was an Angola National Liberation Front militant until 1991.

The Angolan Democratic Forum list includes members of the UNITA-Reflection Tendency. The list is headed by Paulo Chipilika and includes N'zau Puna, Tony da Costa Fernandes, Miranda Dias, Jorge Chikoti, Assis Malaquias, and Manuel Adao Domingos.

The lists on display at the TPS are designed to permit Angolan citizens to lodge any complaint with the tribunal, regarding a particular candidate. Complaints should be lodged within the next three days.

Comoros

State Workers Strike Over Austerity Measures

AB0308155092 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 2 Aug 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There has been an outbreak of strikes on the Comoros Islands in the Indian Ocean. President Djohar is attempting to grapple with a dire economic situation, and is under pressure from the IMF and the World Bank to introduce tough austerity measures. Employees in the state sector are feeling distinctly worried, as Kamadi Muhamed reports in this telex from Moroni:

The judiciary is completely paralyzed after magistrates embarked on an indefinite strike yesterday in protest against poor working conditions. In a statement released in Moroni, the magistrates accused the authorities of indifference and contempt toward their complaints. Two hours later, workers at the state-owned company, Segovia, went on strike as well. The workers are demanding the immediate payment of their salaries, which they have not received for the past two months, and for the restoration of some material benefits repealed recently. Segovia is a company which imports meat, and it is about to be privatized under the country's structural adjustment program. The privatization move is worrying many workers who fear that they would lose their jobs. School teachers are also refusing to put marks on the examination reports of students unless they receive their salaries. The teachers also have not been paid for the past two months.

It is clear that the social climate is deteriorating in Comoros, and the situation has become explosive. The IMF and the World Bank are putting pressure on the government to implement its economic recovery measures by the end of September, and this includes privatizing state-owned companies. The IMF and the World Bank also want 3,600 of the eight and a half thousand civil servants to be made redundant before it releases a badly needed credit. President Djohar seems reluctant to implement all the demands of the IMF and the World

Bank for fear that it would lead to uncontrolled social unrest just weeks before a general election is scheduled to be held.

Malawi

Jailed Trade Unionist's Bail Hearing Postponed

MB0308161192 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 3 Aug 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Today is the day when the detained Malawian trade unionist, Chakufwa Chihana's, bail application should have been heard. He was picked up for the second time nearly three weeks ago, just days after being freed on bail from three months in detention for calling for multiparty democracy. He has been held incommunicado ever since, and today's hearing never took place. On the line to Blantyre, Barnaby Philips asked Chihana's lawyer, Bazuka Mahanga, what reasons the Malawi authorities have given for postponing today's bail application:

[Begin recording] [Mahanga] Well, the reason that was given was that the state counsel were expected to be out of the country for the whole of this week, and possibly part of next week. Supposedly, we understand they were supposed to be getting on to London in order to make some consultation and preparation for the incoming trial.

[Philips] And did they give any new date?

[Mahanga] No, the new date hasn't come in. There is indication that the new date might be fixed before the week starting 17th of August.

[Philips] Does this delay worry you at all or is it just a routine thing?

[Mahanga] Well, it worries us in the sense that we were expecting that Chakufwa Chihana would be granted bail today, and that he would be let free so that we could easily concert and go ahead with the preparation for the trial.

[Philips] Now have you actually managed to have made any contact with Chakufwa Chihana since he was rearrested in the middle of the last month?

[Mahanga] No, we have been refused any access; communication. And in fact even his basic necessities, that we were required to be able to pass on to him, have not been handed over to him.

[Philips] But have you any reason to think he is being harmed in any way?

[Mahanga] Well, it has been very quiet. It has been so quiet that we do not understand. Nobody would be able to know exactly why it should be in that way. [end recording]

Mozambique

President Chissano Arrives in Rome for Meeting

MB0408123092 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 4 Aug 92

[Report from Teodosio Mbanze in Rome]

[Text] Good afternoon, dear listeners! President Joaquim Chissano landed in the Italian capital a few moments ago, accompanied by Foreign Minister Pascoal Mocumbi and Information Minister Rafael Maguni. Now that President Joaquim Chissano has arrived, it is expected that President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe will also arrive here from London at any time.

The official program of the talks has not yet been revealed. The mediators in the Mozambican peace talks, which have been under way in Rome for the past two years, had a dinner with the Mozambique National Resistance's [Renamo] Afonso Dhlakama yesterday. It is believed that at the dinner, the mediators and Afonso Dhlakama's delegation coordinated positions on the talks' program.

The mediators are expected to meet with President Chissano's delegation and later with President Mugabe's delegation, also with a view to coordinating positions on the official program of the talks. It is believed that the mediators are trying to bring the delegations led by President Chissano and the Renamo leader closer together to prepare an informal meeting between the two parties today. This is viewed as an attempt to lessen tensions by allowing the two parties to meet each other before the real talks begin. Thus, the first real working meeting between delegations led by President Chissano and the Renamo leader will only take place tomorrow. This being the case, it is already doubted whether Durao Barroso, Portuguese secretary of state for foreign affairs and cooperation, will arrive in Rome today. It is believed he will be in Rome only tomorrow, while awaiting the development of preparations for a Chissano-Dhlakama meeting.

It is evident that Afonso Dhlakama's delegation is avoiding contacts with journalists. As a matter of fact, after several unsuccessful attempts last night to contact the Renamo leader at the Forum Hotel where he is staying, we once again went to the hotel at about 1000 this morning to try to contact the Renamo leader. At the hotel reception, we got the telephone number of the room of Renamo Secretary General Vicente Ululu, who refused to make any statement. He told us was that the Renamo leader was at the hotel but would not speak to journalists because after a dinner with the mediators he got to bed very late, at about 0300.

While we were talking with Vicente Ululu, we saw Renamo Information Secretary Agostinho Murrial enter the hotel accompanied by 13 people believed to be Renamo security. As the Renamo information secretary was going to his room, we asked him to convey to the

Renamo leader that we were at the reception waiting for him to give us an interview.

After a long and unsuccessful wait, we decided to leave the hotel in order to confirm whether President Chissano had already arrived in Rome and thus be able to send you this report. Before we left, however, we saw one of the 13 people who had accompanied the Renamo information secretary go to the reception, apparently to confirm whether or not the journalists had left the hotel.

While I was drafting this report, I received information that the mediators in the Mozambican peace talks in Rome will give a news conference at about 1530 this afternoon. Let us wait until then to know the preparations for a meeting between President Chissano and the Renamo leader!

Renamo's Dhlakama Arrives

MB0308194692 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Report from Rome by Teodosio Mbanze]

[Excerpt] Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], arrived in Rome at about 1800 today, accompanied by Vicente Ululu, recently appointed Renamo's secretary general. Ululu, who has been part of the Renamo delegation to the two-year-old Rome talks, had left the Italian capital to meet with Dhlakama, apparently in Malawi. [passage omitted]

Further on Dhlakama News Conference

MB0308121092 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo
in Portuguese 0500 GMT 3 Aug 92

["Third part" of news conference by Afonso Dhlakama, president of the Mozambique National Resistance; place and date not given—recorded; second part of news conference was not monitored]

[Summary from Poor Reception] The Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party and the People's Assembly have imposed laws on the Mozambican people. They have forced the Mozambican people to accept the Marxist regime. Accordingly, there is a contradiction when President Chissano says that Dhlakama wants guarantees, but guarantees will be provided by the people. "Does that mean that the people will abolish existing laws?" The people are not able to abolish Marxist laws.

"Mozambique wants democracy. Mozambique wants freedom. With freedom, democracy, and justice, Frelimo will lose elections. But Frelimo's ambition is to continue to govern this country through the force of arms."

Renamo Commentary on Dhlakama-Chissano Meeting

MB0308131792 (Clandestine) Voz da Renamo
in Portuguese 0500 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Station commentary: "The Dhlakama-Chissano Summit"]

[Text] The Dhlakama-Chissano summit is a major event in the history of the Mozambican people, because the two warring sides will be able to demonstrate to the people and the international community who is for peace and who against it. The meeting will take place between the two supreme leaders of the warring parties in Mozambique.

President Dhlakama welcomes this meeting and views it as very important. He will do all he can to make President Chissano understand the people's need [words indistinct]. In other words, we want to say that with the establishment of a constitution containing democratic principles, the Mozambican people can take part in free and democratic elections in Mozambique. What is important for President Dhlakama is to establish a true democracy in Mozambique, with actions and not just words. Words can be [words indistinct] and well written but they will be empty if they cannot be fulfilled. Accordingly, Renamo does not believe in [words indistinct] announced by President Chissano.

One cannot understand how President Chissano can say that Mozambique is already a democratic country when it continues to have a Constitution that is basically Marxist and when the country continues to be ruled by a despotic regime against the people's wishes. The Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] is ruling the country by force of arms. This means that it is an illegal regime, because it does not fulfill the people's wishes.

The Mozambican people did not draft Frelimo's Constitution. No referendum was held to consult them. The Constitution was only approved by the so-called People's Assembly, a political organ of Frelimo itself. This constitution provides Frelimo with all the powers. Accordingly, we cannot confuse a democratic regime with a totalitarian regime. A democratic regime is led by the people; in other words, the people feel that they are free and true owners of the country.

In a democratic regime, it is the people who govern the country through a party that is democratically elected. The democratically elected party defends the country's laws within the framework of the Constitution. What is more, the laws are drafted and approved by a legislative body that represents the people because it was elected by them. This legislative body has a mandate to monitor all the activities of the government and force it to implement the existing laws.

The judiciary is independent. This means that it is not the president that gives orders to judges and the courts. The president can [words indistinct] to work with the judges. The approval must come from this legislative

body and the courts operate according to the Constitution [words indistinct]. This is how a democratic regime operates.

A totalitarian regime is an amalgamation of all organs of power; that is, the government, the party, the Army, the police, the security forces, and the judiciary. All these become one body. The president and his collaborators are owners of the country. They are [words indistinct]. They are free to make any decision. They can kill people and no one will be able to criticize them because those who try to do so will also be killed. The entire economy is in their hands. They control and make use of all the money. The courts belong to them. They appoint all the judges to protect their interests.

In a totalitarian regime, ministers can kill people and are never answerable. The Army is used as a tool to combat all those who are against the regime. The security forces hunt people in their homes to execute them [words indistinct]. The men in the assembly are appointed by the regime itself and their mission is to carry out work among the people to discover who is against the regime so they may be arrested.

Foreign investments in a totalitarian country are only aimed at enriching the ruling clique. In brief, the entire people work as slaves for this group. The mass media is controlled and everything that is disseminated internally and internationally is just disinformation [words indistinct] in their country. [passage indistinct] what is important is democracy and not a cease-fire.

It is not a cease-fire that will establish democracy in Mozambique. A cease-fire means that [words indistinct] but the people know that through Renamo, they are achieving the desired democracy [words indistinct]; that is why the Mozambican people support a cease-fire. Before there can be a cease-fire, the Frelimo regime should suspend all laws that continue to uphold Marxism in this country [words indistinct]. Without this, we would be betraying the people or admitting our people's defeat. In other words, Frelimo would emerge victorious. It has imposed a dictatorship on the people and the people resisted by demanding democracy. Accordingly, it would not make sense for people to [words indistinct] when Frelimo continues with its Marxist laws and its

[passage indistinct] our struggle is not against people in Frelimo but against the Frelimo regime. Once this regime becomes democratic, there will be no reason to continue fighting it.

In conclusion, President Dhlakama hopes that his brother, Frelimo President Joaquim Chissano, will go to Rome to hold serious discussions [words indistinct] and end games. As far as President Dhlakama is concerned, the time has come to end the war and rebuild our country.

Soldiers End Mutiny; Investigation Under Way

MB0408133392 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] Chief of Staff Antonio Hama Thai has announced the end of the mutiny staged by soldiers of the Maputo Garrison Command. He told our correspondent that investigations are under way to determine the origins of the mutiny.

Some 300 soldiers mutinied on 1 August, demanding nine months' salary arrears and food they claim has not been given to them for more than two months. Hama Thai acknowledged the food problem, but said he saw no justification for the soldiers' attitude.

Zambia

Dissolution of Cooperative Committees Urged

MB0308185292 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 3 Aug 92

[Text] Vice President Levy Mwanawasa has called for the immediate dissolution of cooperative committees throughout the country, saying that most of their members are still staunch UNIP [United National Independence Party] supporters.

Mr. Mwanawasa, who was in Kalomo on the second day of his one-week tour of the Southern Province, said he is concerned with the operations of cooperatives in the country as most of them have influence on political parties from the opposition. Expressing his deep concern at the operations, the vice president called for the immediate dissolution of these cooperatives so that new and nonpartisan (?body members) can run them.

Benin

Further Reportage on Military 'Mutiny'

Demands Detailed

AB0308164592 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 3 Aug 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The mutiny by a group of soldiers in northern Benin is now in its second day, following their seizure of a military barracks. The ringleader, Captain Tawes, is believed to have escaped from detention where he had been under investigation following a shooting incident near President Soglo's palace in May.

The mutineers are demanding the release of colleagues detained in connection with that incident, but there has been talk of an attempted coup. And so far, appeals by the Benin Government for them to lay down their arms have been ignored. On the line to Cotonou, Meaks Slater asked Karim Okanla if people in Benin are talking of a coup attempt.

[Begin recording] [Okanla] Well, we could not say it is a coup attempt, since this took place 500 km away from Cotonou. You know that the government is located these days in Cotonou.

[Slater] What are the soldiers asking for?

[Okanla] The soldiers are asking, they are actually demanding, that some of their friends who happen to come from the northern part of the country, be turned loose. You may remember that following the 27 May coup attempt, a certain number of officers were arrested and most of them were from the northern part of the country. So the man who initiated the coup yesterday issued a communique to a radio station based in the area actually demanding that his friends be released from prison.

[Slater] Did the takeover of the camp involve violence? Any clashes between rebellious soldiers and the other soldiers?

[Okanla] I heard a few minutes ago—but this is still an unconfirmed report—that one man was killed and there were several military injured. But, I still cannot confirm this. And the spokesman of the government said a few minutes ago that his government will try to see what it can do in the following hours whether it should send troops over there. But actually, what they were looking forward to was minimizing the cost in terms of human lives.

[Slater] It has been reported that a nearby town has also been taken by the rebels. What do you know about that?

[Okanla] We heard of the camp of Boukoumbe, but actually what we heard about that was that they tried in that camp to resist the takeover attempt and there were actually some clashes there and some soldiers were wounded.

[Slater] What is the mood in Cotonou now? What are people thinking about this rebellion?

[Okanla] The rebellion takes place at a rather very bad time for President Soglo, because there is growing discontent among the people, especially the agents of the Customs and Excise Services who are reportedly on strike. They started a strike today. There are also traders and businessmen who are on strike and some of the businesses have just closed shop today. Cotonou was this morning partly like a dead city. [end recording]

Reinforcements Dispatched

AB0308175492 Paris AFP in French 1651 GMT
3 Aug 92

[Text] Cotonou, 3 Aug (AFP)—Military reinforcements were sent today to Natitingou (440 kms north-west of Cotonou) where some soldiers, engaged in a mutiny since yesterday, took refuge in the town's military camp, military sources in the capital said this afternoon. These soldiers, who came from garrisons in Cotonou and Ouidah (30 kms west of the capital), took up positions early this afternoon around the Natitingou camp, according to sources. The mutineers are demanding the release of several officers who, according to the civilian sources, were involved in the "attempted showdown" two months ago. The mutiny is being led by Captain Pascal Tawes, who had been the deputy commander of the Presidential Guard Battalion (BGP, dissolved in 1991) and later aide-de-camp of former President Mathieu Kerekou, during the previous regime. "Within 48 hours, we will bring Tawes to Cotonou," these military sources told AFP. Yesterday's mutiny resulted in one person—a rebel soldier—being killed and five being wounded, according to government sources.

[Paris AFP in English at 1746 GMT on 3 August in a Cotonou-dated item adds the following: "Benin's civilian head of state, Nicéphore Soglo, held a cabinet meeting Monday on the crisis, a government source said, adding that assessing the situation was difficult as no telephone contact was possible.

["The Benin news agency ABP earlier reported that the mutineers were patrolling the streets of Natitingou Sunday night after taking the town and had blocked off all entry points."]

Political Parties Condemn Action

AB0308212292 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
Television du Benin Radio in French 1930 GMT
3 Aug 92

[Text] Messages of condemnation continue to reach our editorial desk. Our Common Cause Party, NCC and the UDRN [expansion unknown] today condemned the action by Captain Tawes. The party of Mr. Albert Tevoedjre said the following: The announcement today, 3 August, by the government of a mutiny at the Natitingou camp is the sign of a serious danger looming before the country, its unity, and its development. In these

serious circumstances, the NCC Executive Bureau calls on all militants of the party as well as on all Beninese to observe the greatest vigilance and exemplary behavior and to support the republican Constitution that the people adopted in all sovereignty.

The UDRN condemned the action by Captain Tawes by saying: We strongly condemn the organizers of the mutiny at the Kaba military camp in Natitingou, whose objective was to question the gains our people have achieved through their historic sovereign national conference in February 1992 [as heard]. We also condemn the spirit of regionalism in all its forms. We reaffirm that no society can be built through force and no lasting achievement can be made through violence or in a violent manner. We firmly support the current democratic process and we call on all politicians to mobilize themselves to foil any action that might endanger our democracy duly won by our people. We demand exemplary sanctions against all troublemakers and people yearning for a return to the past. Finally, the UDRN calls on the government to take all measures to render the rebels and their accomplices harmless.

Soldiers Negotiate With Local Officials

*AB0308211092 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
Television du Benin Radio in French 1930 GMT
3 Aug 92*

[Text] The soldiers at Kaba Military Camp in Natitingou have started negotiations with the local authorities. Captain Pascal Tawes held talks with the prefect of Atacorah. According to Mr. Marius Francisco, minister in charge of relations with the parliament and government spokesman, the situation might be resolved soon. Francisco talks here about the negotiations held between Capt. Tawes and the local authorities:

[Begin recording] [Francisco] It came out of these discussions that he should consult with his men before reaching a final decision. As for him, he is said to be ready to surrender his weapons.

[Unidentified reporter] But he still remains master of the Kaba Military Camp?

[Francisco] Concerning the situation at the camp, you know whenever such an incident occurs, it is certain that the one who enters the camp and succeeds in taking a number of strategic points can control the situation for some time.

[Reporter] The soldiers tried to rally soldiers of the Boukoumbe Camp to their side, but there were skirmishes and clashes. What is the exact casualty report of these clashes?

[Francisco] Following the clashes with the loyal troops in Boukoumbe Camp, one mutineer was killed and five injured. They also abandoned the transportation that took them to Boukoumbe.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, do you not fear that the situation may persist and that it might assume other dimensions?

[Francisco] We are confident; we are confident in the Beninese people. We are also confident in the desire of the soldiers to stick to the laws. Just because a few soldiers have committed these actions we should not entertain any worries. We remain totally confident and serene and I think that within the next few hours this matter will probably be cleared up. [end recording]

We must add that Capt. Tawes, who was contacted by telephone by our colleagues at Radio Parakou, does not consider this to be a mutiny. He said that he was driven away from the south but quietly returned to his home. We will bring you the interview he granted to David Okoushina in our subsequent casts.

Tawes Meets With Atacora Prefect

*AB0408150492 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
Television du Benin Radio in French 1220 GMT
4 Aug 92*

[Text] Seventy-two hours after the Camp Kaba events, calm has returned to Natitingou. Markets have resumed their activities and offices have reopened. The people are going about their normal business. After meeting twice with Captain Tawes, the prefect of Atacora Region, Adrien Mife, gave an update on the situation to our correspondent David Ogoushina. Let us listen to this update:

[Begin recording] [Mife] [passage indistinct] He agreed and we set up an appointment for 1700. So, at 1700, he came to say that...

[Ogoushina, interrupting] He came to you?

[Mife] Yes, he came to me and he said [words indistinct] accepted to lay down their arms and to return to their homes [words indistinct] and that as from now [passage indistinct].

[Ogoushina] So, Mr. Prefect, have you been able to check whether that was the case?

[Mife] Yes, I did check that [passage indistinct].

[Ogoushina] So, after the 1700 meeting—which was the second meeting—following which the [words indistinct] did the people lay down their arms? What happened later?

[Mife] Let us say that at about 2330 [passage indistinct] shooting [words indistinct] and from the information we got this morning, it seems there are two different versions concerning this shooting. The first version says that [words indistinct] and it seems that one of the rebels (?while trying to leave the camp) [words indistinct] then opened fire. [passage indistinct] The second version, which I got through someone (?close to the rebels) at Kaba but who was not on the spot, says that [words indistinct] it seems that at the Kaba Camp, some people were seen jumping over walls of private residences to [words indistinct] believed it was an attack.

[Ogoushina] So, Mr. Prefect, how did you find Captain Tawes during the two meetings you held with him. Was he conciliatory or radical?

[Mife] No, Captain Tawes was perfectly conciliatory, he was not [words indistinct] any aggressive manner, he did not intend to lead his troops to any brawl or to create any situation which should call for the bombing of the camp. The camp location is such that [words indistinct] would have led to a carnage. So, it was his duty to [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Tawes Said To Return Home

AB0408084592 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
Television du Benin Radio in French 0615 GMT
4 Aug 92

[Text] Captain Tawes, who our colleagues of Radio Parakou were able to contact by telephone, has said there was no mutiny. He said he was driven away from the south by regionalism, and that he has returned to his home region. I was driven away from the south; I prefer to die at home, Mr. Tawes said. He told our colleagues of Radio France Internationale that he did not fear any tough military intervention.

Presidential Security Tightened

AB0408123492 Paris AFP in French 1103 GMT
4 Aug 92

[Excerpts] Cotonou, 4 Aug (AFP)—Captain Pascal Tawes, presented yesterday by the Beninese Government as the leader of a military mutiny started on 2 August at Natitingou (440 km northwest of Cotonou), told AFP this morning that he is not rebelling but that he is simply "going back home." Contacted by telephone at his residence in Natitingou, his hometown, Capt. Tawes said: "There was no mutiny at Natitingou camp; I was driven away from the south so I returned home."

An official at Natitingou garrison, also contacted by telephone, said the situation was "calm" this morning at the military camp as well as in town. He confirmed that Capt. Tawes was "at his residence." [passage omitted]

Last night, a government spokesman, Marius Francisco, announced that a meeting between Capt. Tawes and the prefect of the region had taken place a few hours earlier. According to military sources, all Army units were placed on alert today. Yesterday, according to reports from several sources, reinforcements were sent by air from Cotonou to Natitingou.

The situation was still calm in Cotonou this morning where security has been tightened around the Presidency as well as for the head of state Nicephore Soglo, who was accompanied on his daily round of jogging by more armed soldiers than usual.

Spokesman Says Mutiny Continues

AB0408145792 Paris AFP in French 1306 GMT
4 Aug 92

[Text] Cotonou, 4 Aug (AFP)—The Beninese Government has announced that the "mutiny" started in Natitingou (in the north of the country) on 2 August by Captain Pascal Tawes was still continuing late this morning, despite denials made by the latter. Government spokesman Marius Francisco told AFP that "until Tawes surrenders, we take it that the mutiny is still going on. He has not been transferred to Natitingou and he must therefore return to Cotonou." He stated that about 60 men were engaged in this action with the captain.

Yesterday morning, the government accused Captain Tawes, a former deputy commander of the presidential guard under the military regime of President Mathieu Kerekou (1972-1990), of "seizing control" of the Natitingou garrison (440 km northwest of Cotonou). It added that this officer, who was arrested last May after a "coup attempt," escaped on 28 July from the Cotonou military camp where he was being detained.

Mr. Francisco also explained today that the authorities did not initiate any "negotiations" with the "rebel" officer, and that the latter went of his own free will to the prefect of the region last night. According to the spokesman, Captain Tawes said at that time that he was "ready to surrender" but that he had to first "inform his men." According to Mr. Francisco, no other contact has been made with him since.

At the Natitingou military camp, a member of the garrison, contacted by AFP on the phone late this morning, reaffirmed that the situation was "normal" both within the barracks and in town. He stated that the head of the camp, Commander Adjou Moumouni, had still not returned to post, and emphasized that Captain Tawes and the men who were with him on 2 August were no longer on the premises.

Togo

Talks Resume Between Presidency, Opposition

AB0308182592 Paris AFP in French 1715 GMT
3 Aug 92

[Excerpt] Lome, 3 Aug (AFP)—The dialogue between the Togolese Presidency and eight main parties opposed to the head of state, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, resumed in Lome today after it was suspended on 30 July following the death of political leader Tavio Amorin.

A presidential delegation led by Moussa Barque, a former minister under Gen. Eyadema, met with party officials shortly after 1500. Two delegations, from the government and from the High Council of the Republic, the transition legislative assembly, are attending the meeting as observers.

Antiriot gendarmes cordoned off the Congress Hall in downtown Lome, where the meeting is taking place. The divergent views on preparing the constitutional referendum and the issue of political violence are expected to be discussed. [passage omitted]

Explosions, Shots Disrupt Women's Demonstration

*AB0408093092 Paris AFP in French 0753 GMT
4 Aug 92*

[Text] Lome, 4 Aug (AFP)—Four explosions and some gunshots were heard in Lome shortly after 0430, one and a half hours before the scheduled demonstration by the Collective of Women's Associations [CAF] to protest "insecurity." According to eyewitnesses, these explosions took place at the "Fleau Jardin" Square, the usual gathering spot for petanque players, which should have served as the departure point for the demonstration.

According to inquiries made by AFP at the scene, these explosions did not result in any casualties or major damage. Eyewitnesses claim that a group of men in civilian clothing arrived at the scene aboard a truck and a vehicle that looked like a jeep at about 0400. They came down from the vehicles and appeared to be "depositing things" on the square. Half an hour later, the explosions went off. A few minutes after the explosions, other eyewitnesses spoke of intermittent gunshots lasting one minute in the Tokoin area (northern part of the city).

An AFP reporter also saw the occupants of a vehicle running at top speed and shooting in the air at Amotive (downtown Lome).

Shortly before 0730, the women's demonstration had not started; neither the organizers nor the participants could be seen at the rallying point where only some 20 policemen could be seen. CAF President Mrs. Lydia Adamlete told AFP that the beginning of the demonstrations had been "delayed" because of the night's events. She described the explosions as "plastic-bomb attacks" aimed at deterring the women from demonstrating.

The "Fleau Jardin" Square is situated in the administrative quarter where the office of the president, major ministries, the central post office as well as the central market can be found. The square is situated some 20 meters away from the French Cultural Center.

Police Disperse Gathering

*AB0408095092 Paris AFP in French 0855 GMT
4 Aug 92*

[Text] Lome, 4 Aug (AFP)—Police in Lome this morning at about 0800 fired shots in the air to disperse people gathering around the place where a demonstration of women protesting the climate of "insecurity" was scheduled to take place. According to an AFP reporter at the scene, policemen on duty at the "Fleau Jardin" square in downtown Lome, where the demonstration was to start, fired several shots at a crowd comprising mainly idlers and curious onlookers standing some 500 meters from the scene. One man, 44-year-old Corneille Millai, was hit by a bullet in the thigh.

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